

To Protect and also Serve:
Emotional Intelligence in Police Officers

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THESIS

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mom and dad, who have always encouraged me to take on a challenge. Their love and support have never wavered.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Name	Item	Description
EI	Emotional Intelligence		
ESA	Emotional Self-Awareness	a1	Notice my emotions
		a2	Pay a lot of attention to my feelings
		a3	Am usually aware of the way that I'm feeling
		a4	Often stop to analyze how I'm feeling
EKO	Emotional Knowledge about Others	k1	I am good at reading other people's emotions
		k2	I know how to make someone comfortable
		k3	I know how to resolve conflict between people
ED	Emotional Demeanor	r1	I am always empathic when talking with people
		r2	I always carefully listen to what others are saying
		r3	I always remain calm when dealing with upset people
		r4	I am patient when dealing with people
Comfort	Comfort Interacting with Strangers	c1	I am uncomfortable around people I don't know
		c2	It's easy for me to talk with strangers
		c3	I am uncomfortable around people of the opposite sex
		c4	I don't like to talk with people I don't know
OUF	Openness toward Use of Force	f1	Police officers are often in situations where it is more appropriate to use physical force than to keep on talking to a person
		f2	Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way
		f3	Sometimes forceful police actions are very educational for civilians
		f4	If officers don't show that they are physically tough, they will be seen as weak
ADE	Acknowledging Driver Experience	s1	Acknowledge the drivers feelings
		s2	Let the driver tell his or her side of the story
		s3	Try to answer all the driver's questions
	Respect	t1	[The officer] treated me with dignity and respect
		t2	[The officer] talked down to me
		t3	[The officer] treated me politely
	Empathy	m1	[The officer] comforted and reassured me
		m2	[The officer] seemed to believe what I was saying
		m3	[The officer] listened to what I had to say
		m4	[The officer] seemed concerned about my feelings

SUMMARY

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the often overlooked role of emotions in policing. Specifically, this work sought to test the potential for officer emotional intelligence (an officer's ability to assess and manage emotions) to explain some of their attitudes, relationships, and behaviors related to procedural justice and emotional labor. First, officer characteristics were hypothesized to be related to three factors linked to emotional intelligence – officers' emotional demeanor, emotional self-awareness, and emotional knowledge about others. Next, these three emotional intelligence factors were hypothesized to be related to officers' attitudes about the use of force and how important it is to acknowledge the feelings and experiences of drivers during traffic stops. Lastly, the three emotional intelligence factors identified were hypothesized to play a role in how favorably officers' peers rated them and how empathetic or respectful they were perceived to be by community members who actually interacted with them.

The data used for testing the hypotheses were gathered from over 1,000 police officers and several hundred community members. A subset of the data containing community ratings of interactions that occurred due to a traffic/foot patrol stop, or crime report was used to test the final hypothesis. Multiple statistical models were utilized to examine each set of outcomes for this study. Officer characteristics such as age and previous experience in policing did not relate to any of the three emotional intelligence factors. However, gender was influential in that emotional self-awareness was higher among female officers. Comfort interacting with strangers was positively associated with all three factors. Emotionally intelligent demeanor and emotional self-awareness were positively related to the priority that officers placed on acknowledging the feelings and experiences of drivers during traffic stops. Additionally, an officer's emotionally intelligent demeanor was related to less openness toward the use of force, but those who reported

SUMMARY (continued)

more knowledge about other people's emotions actually showed *greater* openness toward the use of force. Lastly, the three emotional intelligence factors measured were not significantly related to peer ratings or community members' perceptions of empathy or respect.

Implications for the theory of emotional intelligence and the future study of emotions in policing are discussed. The findings suggest the relationships of predictors and outcomes with emotional intelligence may depend on the dimension of emotional intelligence measured and the unique context of an environment, particularly in policing. For example, though it was not found to significantly impact peer or community ratings in the present data, emotional intelligence could be a factor in closer peer relationships or higher stake police encounters than those included here. Additionally, certain unmeasured factors could have played a role in non-significant findings regarding EI and peer and community ratings. Consider that pre-existing attitudes toward the police might bias ratings of a police encounter and that the majority of the community rating data were from African-American respondents, a demographic group for which past research shows views about the police are less variable and typically less positive overall. Also, the measure of emotional intelligence was limited to just a handful of EI skills and there were a small number of community ratings per officer. Overall, policing professionals and future researchers are encouraged to take a closer, serious look at when and where emotions are impactful in police work and critically observe the way officers are equipped, trained and socialized to deal with such situations.

1. INTRODUCTION

Policing in the United States is currently in a state of crisis, with community leaders and other stakeholders questioning the authority and legitimacy of this institution. Since 2014, municipal police have faced increased scrutiny. Without the trust and confidence of the public, the police are dramatically constrained in their ability to function effectively. Highly visible incidents of officers using deadly or physical force on community members (many African-American) have brought to the forefront broader issues about police use of force, systemic racial inequality, stop-and-frisk policies, police training, and officer behavior in general. Addressing these topics requires both police departments and their communities to tackle new challenges related to police reform, accountability and public trust.

Policing scholars have helped to delineate some possible solutions to this crisis of confidence. Based on a community policing paradigm, researchers have linked concepts such as “procedural justice” with police legitimacy, explaining that the fairness of interactions and the quality of treatment individual community members experience are strong influencers of perceived legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2004). Fundamentally, the quality of treatment that is perceived in police-community interactions depends in large part on how officers decide to act. This begs the question of how officers seek to engage in fair and respectful treatment of community members, as should be promoted by their agency’s mission. Part of the process involves an officer considering organizational and community expectations about their actions. However, a critical part of the process requires an officer to more specifically be aware of emotional cues, respond appropriately to emotional cues, and manage emotions so that they can meet expectations such as remaining calm, being fair, gaining compliance, or keeping peace. It follows that officers who deal with emotions effectively should produce high quality

interactions that achieve police functions while they treat people appropriately and foster legitimacy. Therefore, this project explores the following questions: How are emotional skills involved in the many aspects of an officer's job? What determines the skill level with which an officer deals with emotions in their interactions? And how can a police agency identify how competent its officers are and encourage the development of emotional skills? A theoretical framework from which one can begin examining the emotional abilities in police officers is detailed by merging scholarly work on emotional labor, emotional intelligence, and policing.

1.1 Problem Statement

Among a variety of factors, the behavior of police officers during police-community interactions is partly the result of who is hired, how they are trained and evaluated, and ultimately how they interpret and interact with the information available in any given situation. Improving these processes from a community policing perspective is difficult for many reasons, but a general lack of empirical knowledge about who is a 'desirable recruit' and 'effective officer' for community policing is a key factor. This lack of knowledge is due, in part, to limited researcher access to the selection data and narrow recruiting and evaluation strategies that rely on the rejection of "bad applicants" or the reprimanding and firing of "bad apples." This is unfortunate because issues that arise after officers are in the field could be addressed most effectively in earlier phases of officers' careers via recruiting, training, and evaluation strategies that pro-actively seek out the best officers for community policing.

Police officers can encounter emotions on the job regularly in their interactions with community members. Thus, especially from a community policing perspective it is ideal for an officer to handle those emotions skillfully in accordance with the expectations of their organization and community. Hochschild (1979) termed such an effort "emotional labor."

Because of this aspect of their work, an officer's emotional intelligence (Salovey & Mayer, 1990) is inherently related to his/her performance on the job. According to emotional intelligence (EI) theory, a person with an increased awareness of emotions should create better interactions and relationships with people because EI supports more empathic, emotionally appropriate, and productive social exchanges (Mayer & Salovey, 1997).

Furthermore, individuals with high EI are aware of emotional influences in themselves and others, can utilize and manage those influences expertly, and can communicate emotions effectively when interacting with others (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008). Practically then, workers with exceptional EI successfully produce, improve or maintain a relationship with 'customers or peers' because of their socially valuable ability to "work" with emotions. This type of skill is invaluable for the modern police officer in an age where public trust in the police has been eroded by poor decision making in deadly force encounters.

Today, procedural justice and legitimacy should be among the prime concerns of police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Fortunately, a police officer with an above average ability to comprehend, manage, and utilize emotions in their encounters should also be above average in their ability to adapt to organizational (and public) expectations of fair and respectful treatment. However, in terms of police management, serious discussions about emotional intelligence in recruitment, training, evaluation, supervision, and discipline are lacking. Furthermore, empirical examinations of EI in policing are virtually non-existent. A deeper understanding of the impact of emotional intelligence on the lives and work of officers could inform a new line of scholarship and point agencies to more targeted recruitment strategies, training curricula, and officer evaluations that are informed by the actual tasks officers are required to perform in the context of community policing trends. The long-term aim would be to improve police encounters with

community members, develop community trust, and maintain legitimacy as an organization using empirically supported, pro-active strategies.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Emotion Work and Emotional Labor in Policing

Whether in the context of traditional policing styles or community policing, officers operate in a world of social interactions where they are required to serve other people, often times in emotionally-charged situations. The emotional experiences in these interactions can impact police decision-making and outcomes. This section examines what is known about the role of emotions in police interactions.

To understand the performance of any worker who deals with people and emotions, one should first understand the nature of the distinct work they do. The term “emotion work” (Hochschild, 1979) broadly refers to the process of managing one’s emotions and their display (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) in order to try to fit appropriately within a given setting. Emotion work theory posits that there are socially defined feeling rules that determine the way individuals experience and try to manage their internal emotions (Hochschild, 1979). Because of this, Hochschild suggests that individuals often participate in “deep acting” in order to *feel* appropriately so that they can respond appropriately. Thus, social structures and their expectations intersect with an individual’s ability to “work” with emotion and perceive expectations (i.e. feeling rules). Consider a social situation where the requirement is to be happy (a birthday party) or somber (a funeral). Emotion work is the effort a person puts forth to manage their emotions in line with the feeling rules for these social situations. Actual behavior is managed too, but sometimes internal emotions and display behaviors can actually be incongruent and create dissonance (e.g. smiling or frowning in an attempt to feign an emotion not actually felt). Hochschild (1983) later built on this general concept of emotion work, but narrowed her focus to the workplace context, where she proposed that feeling rules are determined by the goals

of work organizations and the nature of modern service jobs. She termed manipulating emotion in this context “emotional *labor*.”

Guy, Newman, and Mastracci (2008) described emotional labor by referring to the skills involved in emotional labor, mainly: 1) emotive sensing of others, 2) analysis of one’s own emotions, 3) the consideration and selection of emotional response options, and 4) suppressing or expressing emotion in pursuit of some purpose. As will be discussed later on, these skills were based on components proposed in the theory of emotional intelligence (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). According to Guy and colleagues (2008), the skillful performance of emotional labor is fundamentally undervalued and unrewarded in the traditional workforce when compared to the performance of cognitive or physical labor. Overall, they suggested that the intangible nature of emotions, the dominant rationality of scientific management, and a cultural bias towards “real” work as masculine have all contributed to an omission of emotional labor skills from “job descriptions, performance appraisals, and reward systems,” (Guy et al, 2008, p.8). The omission of emotional labor is a problem not only because it devalues certain people and their skills, but also because without the acknowledgement of emotional labor in jobs, there can be no measurement or improvement when emotional labor is performed poorly. In other words, jobs with little acknowledgement of their existing emotional labor component likely suffer from a lack of guidance about how emotional labor is to be performed. Subsequently, those aspects of the job might be carried out erratically with substantial variation between individual employees. As a practical example, clear guidelines on how to appropriately deliver news of death in professions that require such a task (e.g. healthcare and policing) are often missing, meaning that how it is done depends largely on the personal observations, experiences and preferences of those delivering the news (see Clark & LaBeff, 1982). This invests a great amount of trust in

workers and also puts tremendous pressure on them to get it right without much (or any) formal guidance.

If emotional labor is not acknowledged in many emotionally laborious jobs, how might researchers be able to recognize this component in their attempts to understand and improve those jobs? Emotionally laborious jobs can be recognized based on a few observable characteristics. For example, Morris and Feldman (1997) characterized them as requiring 1) interaction with the public, 2) an emotional product (e.g. satisfaction, happiness, comfort), and 3) a channel for organizational control of emotions (e.g. training, regulations, supervisors, sanctions, or employee reviews). Policing certainly involves all of these characteristics. In fact, thinking about Morris and Feldman's (1997) criteria, many jobs seem to involve emotional labor – even work as a convenience store clerk (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990), waiter (Paules, 1991), physician (Clark & LaBeff, 1982), or bill collector (Sutton, 1991). Emotional labor seems present in many service-oriented jobs. However, the emotional labor required in service-oriented jobs is unique in at least a few identifiable ways. Wharton (1999) suggested that jobs can be differentiated by the specific types of emotions expected and the amount of monitoring of emotional displays. Additionally, Morris and Feldman (1997) differentiated between jobs based on the explicitness of display rules (the clarity of regulations about how to treat patients/clients), the routineness of working with others, and the amount of worker autonomy. Overall, the literature suggests that specific emotional labor requirements of different jobs are often distinct from one another, even if they share some inherent similarities related to serving others. Thus, understanding the unique emotional contexts of work as a police officer is necessary for a researcher interested in the emotional labor they perform.

2.1.1 Acknowledgement of Emotion in Policing

Acknowledging the involvement and influence of emotions in police work can be difficult for some. Formal and cultural expectations tend to leave emotions out of policing activities (Dodge & Murphy, 2002), mirroring the expectations of emotionlessness in other areas of the legal process (Bornstein & Wiener, 2006; Maroney, 2006). This has created an environment that undervalues emotional labor in police work. Though many might publicly recognize a need to evolve, in 2013 the average modern police training academy reported giving relatively little attention to topics where one might consider emotional labor an important aspect. For example, on average, mediation and conflict management training was a small fraction (9 hours) of the total time in training (840 hours), especially compared to the time given to training in operations, firearms, defense tactics, and use of force (368 hours) (Reaves, 2016). Also, limited time was committed to training on stress prevention and management (6 hours) and cultural diversity/human relations training (12 hours). Furthermore, the extent to which these components specifically included any guidance on how to deal with emotions is uncertain. One promising fact was that about 60% of police training academies had some sort of training on how to specifically interact with young people (Reaves, 2016). Apparently, these academies considered young people a special population in need of some sort of deeper understanding, although the exact number of hours devoted to this training was unreported. Recently, academies are increasingly giving attention to de-escalation training to minimize the use of force and to Crisis Intervention Training (CIT) for responding appropriately to persons experiencing a mental health crisis (Watson, 2010). Clearly these trainings should cover how to work with emotions, though again the amount of time devoted to emotional labor per se in the formal curricula is unknown. A lack of focus in training on how to perform basic emotional labor could be

problematic for departments, officers, and communities that seek legitimacy, compliance, and satisfactory treatment, respectively.

Along with formal training, local organizational and social norms about emotions can communicate the value placed on police officers' ability to deal with emotions in their work (see Drodge & Murphy, 2002). For example, Martin (1999), asserted that policing is culturally stereotyped as a masculine, un-emotional, crime fighting occupation that focuses on catching criminals, despite the fact that women have worked as police officers for decades and that policing often requires officers to maintain order/peace and provide services to community members (e.g. Sergeant Friday from the 1960's television show "Dragnet" embodied a popularized version of the stereotype). From this perspective, the social norms about emotions in policing are linked with masculine stereotypes that de-emphasize skills related to emotional labor. Such masculine norms about how to feel and publicly display feelings on the job are propagated throughout formal and informal processes from the academy to the street (Drodge & Murphy, 2002).

One should be careful, however, not to characterize policing as a monolithic culture. Paoline (2004) found that officers integrated themselves into the post-academy world of policing not through some single formulation of attitudes and beliefs that added up to one larger police culture, but through at least seven different formulations. These perspectives consisted of different ways of thinking about the primary function of police, the way police should work, the relevance of top brass, and the way community members think and behave. Thus, adherence to the masculine, unemotional norms that Martin (1999) identified could vary in degree depending on the orientation of smaller groups within the policing context. Additionally, researchers have yet to explore whether the general shift towards community policing (since the 1980s) has driven

wider variation in the skills that are formally or informally valued in police work. The training data available from police academies in 2013 (Reaves, 2016), suggests that a formal emphasis on stereotypical non-service-oriented, masculine police tasks has not diminished as much as might be expected. Of course, this has implications for how officers are later socialized by peers and supervisors on the job.

Despite the apparent lack of a formal or cultural emphasis on emotional labor in police work, many officers will personally acknowledge the emotional reality of their work. Daus and Brown (2012) found that officers in their interview sample viewed police work as requiring the management of emotions – mostly anger, empathy, hatred, and sadness. Additionally, Steinberg and Figart (1999) found parallels between the work of nurses and the work of police officers, observing that each has to recognize, display and manage emotions, but do so in order to accomplish different goals. Other scholars have documented a variety of instances when police officers have to consider emotions, such as when they deliver news of death, interrogate suspects, or intervene in family crises (Clark & LaBeff, 1982; Gilmartin, 2002; Hartwig, Anders Granhag, & Vrij, 2005; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). On a slightly different front, Rosenbaum and colleagues (Rosenbaum et al., 2017) found that an officer's ability to display empathy influenced community members' reported willingness to cooperate with police via its relationship with perceptions of an officer's trustworthiness during more common encounters like traffic stops. These instances of emotional labor in policing are elaborated on in the following discussion.

As previously mentioned, delivering news about a death is often an involved process. Doing such work requires mental and emotional preparation on the part of the deliverer (McClenahan & Lofland, 1976). The ideal goal is to communicate the message clearly, consider the effect it has on the receiver of the news, and tailor the delivery and response in the

interaction. In their study of “death tellers” Clark and LaBeff (1982) noted that unlike physicians and nurses, police officers sometimes have little control over the setting in which they inform individuals of a death, as it is often done at the home or a spontaneous location. This places the officer at a disadvantage in terms of being able to prepare emotionally and mentally to deliver news of a death. The situation requires a great amount of emotional labor from officers in the moment when they stand before a recipient of a death notice. If an officer does not heed emotional expectations or fully understand the reaction of the other person/s this process could fall apart, affecting both party’s experiences and judgments about the officer’s demeanor. For example, the officer might be deemed cold if they did not display enough emotion or unprofessional if they displayed too much emotion or did not observe an acceptable physical distance (Clark & LaBeff, 1982).

Police interrogators are required to make judgments about the emotionality of a suspect in order to implement a suitable interrogation strategy (Hartwig et al., 2005; Inbau, Reid, & Buckley, 1986). After making their judgments, an officer is taught by one interrogation technique to manipulate and appeal to a suspect’s emotions to produce information that will help solve a crime or to elicit a confession (Kassin & McNall, 1991). A strategy when dealing with an emotional suspect is to try to display empathy or sympathy that minimizes the seriousness of the offense and culpability of the suspect, thus making it easier to confess. Often, this might even mean outwardly blaming victims and justifying what the suspect is thought to have done, even if internally feeling disgusted with the idea. Another strategy (actually recommended for “non-emotional” suspects) is to intimidate and confront the interviewee as guilty in addition to possibly presenting evidence that may be exaggerated or completely made up. Fear or hopelessness might play a role in the latter strategy, but it is mainly intended to appeal to logic

by suggesting the pointlessness of arguing over facts. One problem with the emotional labor required in this type of task is that there are few reliable guidelines describing how to know if a suspect is emotional or not (Hartwig et al., 2005). Additionally, interrogators may have little guidance in how to manage their own emotions when interacting with suspects accused of particularly heinous crimes, but to date research has not examined this situation. Other methods of interrogation emphasize rapport building, empathy, sympathy, respect, and communication to create a positive environment. Such techniques aim to get a suspect to confide in an interrogator they are comfortable with, rather than to “trick” or manipulate them (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002).

Emotional labor can also be required during the police response to domestic disputes. When families or couples have failed in their own attempts to mediate conflict and have no one else to turn to that can settle disagreements, the police officer can become the default mediator (Cooper, 1997). As a result, an officer typically gets involved when the disputants are at a point of crisis and feeling highly emotional – experiencing fear or anger about a partner or family member, hopelessness at resolving the issue, or worry over criminal charges against loved ones who have committed violence, which is unfortunately one of the most common reasons police are called to a home (Stewart, Langan, & Hannem, 2013). This leads to the individuals involved looking to the officer for guidance, solutions, and emotional support. In such a position of influence and potential control, the officer has an obligation to utilize emotional skills to accurately understand the situation and its emotional components, including the officer’s own emotional experience and display, which could range from frustration and anger at victims to cold indifference (Horwitz et al., 2011). In domestic types of events, just as in death notices and interrogations, officers must be keenly aware of the emotional environment and consider the

experience of the people in the situation in order to be effective and professional in controlling conflict. By failing to do so not only could the situation devolve, but specifically, victims who call the police could end up feeling unimportant, fearful, angry, and humiliated, causing them to see no benefit of involving police when needed in the future (Stephens & Sinden, 2000) .

Additionally, the final outcome of an officer's attempts at mediating a domestic situation – whether it be arresting someone, separating people, or offering advice – could significantly impact an offender and their likelihood of recidivating in the future (Sherman & Berk, 1984).

Looking at more routine types of encounters, Rosenbaum and colleagues (Rosenbaum et al., 2017) proposed that empathy is an overlooked element of police interactions that is linked to traditional procedural justice theory in policing. That study found that for individuals who interacted with a police officer, perceptions of empathy predicted willingness to cooperate with police in the future through its positive impact on perceptions of an officer's trustworthiness. In a different study, a relationship between empathy and trust in police was observed for residents more generally too (Posick, Rocque, & Rafter, 2014). Theories about procedural justice (Tyler, 1988) hold that when officers consistently treat community members in a fair and unbiased way, individuals will ultimately see officers and their police agency as a legitimate authority. This makes the job of policing much easier. The inclusion of empathy makes practical sense in two ways. First, the community members who make judgments about whether an officer is procedurally just and whether a police department is legitimate are sensitive to the acknowledgment of their emotion-filled perspectives during an encounter. Thus, in order to be procedurally just an officer must perform emotional labor to feel and display empathy for the people they encounter or risk being seen as disingenuous, uncaring, cold, and less fair. Second, if one considers emotions (or the perception of empathy) as an outcome of treating someone with

procedural justice, procedural justice itself is emotional labor since it requires an officer to maintain a specific, appropriate demeanor and produces an emotional outcome for the community member.

The few research studies specifically linking emotions and procedural fairness are mixed on which direction the relationship flows. Van den Bos (2003) found that students who were put into a positive mood rated the fairness of an experimenter they encountered higher than those who were put into bad moods. Chebat and Slusarczyk (2005) found that banking customers were more likely to experience negative emotions toward a bank and also less likely to continue using their services if they reported being treated unfairly by them. Murphy and Tyler (2008) found that a lack of procedural justice on the part of tax authorities was associated with anger in many taxpayers. Their study subsequently found that anger mediated the relationship between a lack of procedural justice and not paying taxes two years later, such that a person's future compliance with an unfair authority was predicted by procedural justice indirectly through how it affects a person's emotions. Ahrens (2006) described the impact of negative officer treatment of victims of sexual assault. Her sample of survivors often encountered intense questioning, blame for their situation, accusations of fabrication, and downplaying of the incident and avoided future disclosure after such experiences. Needless to say, these victims did not experience empathetic displays or procedural justice. Had the officers (or even the acquaintances) who were informed of these sexual assaults displayed empathy, the victims might not have avoided disclosure for decades after their initial attempt (see also Maddox, Lee, & Barker, 2010). In the end, the relationship between procedural justice and emotions may still be reciprocal since being treated fairly and respectfully in an interaction is emotionally pleasant (Krehbiel & Cropanzano, 2000) and feeling pleasant would make one feel positively about the quality of an interaction. The basic

implication is that procedural justice is linked to emotions and has the potential to produce an emotional “product.”

Other specific areas where emotional labor is most likely to be found in policing are hostage negotiations, interactions with people who have a mental disability, and in the workplace. No empirical examinations of emotional labor in these areas has been done directly, but some work has explored how training for police officers might practically improve the understanding and management of people in crisis types of situations. Crisis intervention and management is generally meant to resolve situations where an individual experiences serious mental and/or emotional distress and needs help returning to their “pre-crisis state” (Vecchi, 2009). In policing, the concept of crisis intervention can be applied to multiple areas of police work.

At the cutting edge of one type of crisis intervention training, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has utilized and developed the concepts in crisis intervention to deal with individuals who take hostages (Vecchi, Van Hasselt, & Romano, 2005). In developing their technique, one of their criticisms of past approaches to hostage negotiations was that they do not necessarily address the management of the emotional state of the hostage taker. Consequently, dealing with emotions was seen as the first step when outlining their updated method. Dealing with emotions requires careful communication with an individual to assess their emotional “state.” For example, Vecchi and colleagues (2005) explained that instead of a negotiator saying “I know how you feel right now...”, they might opt to say “I don’t know how you feel right now, but I imagine you feel...”. This displays a more genuine attempt at empathy than making assumptions about the way a hostage taker feels. This type of behavior explicitly acknowledges the impact of emotion and illustrates emotional labor since it manages the emotions of the other

person (avoiding anger at false attempts at empathy), genuinely serves as a way to understand their feelings, and would require managing one's emotions in an attempt to relate to an individual who is probably putting people in danger. A particularly relevant part of the process in this form of crisis intervention is the "behavioral change stairway model" developed by the Crisis Negotiation Unit of the FBI (Vecchi et al., 2005). This model stresses active listening, empathy, rapport, influence, and behavioral change. In actively listening a negotiator is making the other person's voice heard, in displaying empathy an understanding is established, and in building rapport negotiators form a trusted relationship through which they can later "build themes" that allow them to "save face" and "reframe the situation," (Vecchi et al., 2005, p. 545). In such an approach, gaining influence and impacting behavioral changes come last and are ultimately related to gaining compliance.

The advice offered about teaching this model of crisis intervention included teaching a primary course in concepts followed by experiential practice via scenario training and role playing and finally, providing feedback on how trainees performed (Vecchi et al., 2005). Systematic evaluation and empirical research on this strategy as a whole is lacking though. In one evaluation, Hasselt et al. (2006) found that a version of the above outlined training program was successful in teaching active listening skills, but the program was limited in the amount of time that it trained the participants so there was mixed success with increases in other behaviors like open-ended questioning. Importantly, specific behaviors were attached to active listening, empathy, and building rapport in order to measure outcomes of the training. Training in these skills is related to the idea of emotional intelligence abilities (to be discussed later), and the behaviors involved clearly define the type of emotional labor required in hostage negotiations.

Some research that examines the implementation of a crisis intervention approach are generalized to the multitude of daily job functions of police, but do not always specify the details of its training components and are slightly varied in their approaches (Zacker & Bard, 1973). Mulvey and Reppucci (1981) evaluated a police crisis intervention program that trained officers to utilize crisis intervention techniques in a variety of situations, including marital disputes, difficult teenagers, drunk individuals, and individuals considering suicide. Notably, mediation and “diffusion” were a part of lectures, and in group discussions the ability to recognize emotions was a topic of conversation. More specific content of the training was not reported though. Despite a rigorous research design utilizing a control group, and pre, post, and a follow-up measurement of the outcomes, the evaluation Mulvey and Repucci (1981) conducted was inconclusive as to the effectiveness of this particular program. Attitudes toward “psychology” in police work showed a decrease over time, while training was increasingly viewed in a more positive light. Supervisor ratings showed only a slight increase over time, but no differences between groups. Community members who had interacted with trained officers rated them more positively, but did the same for control group officers, meaning there was no significant group differences. Other evaluations focusing specifically on family crisis interventions show positive effects on attitudes toward training and attitudes toward the relevance of domestic disputes to police work, but have a less rigorous study design (e.g. Buchanan & Perry, 1985).

A targeted application of crisis intervention techniques in policing is in responses to people with a mental illness (Ellis, 2014). Police officers are often in contact with people who have a mental illness since they are available twenty-four hours a day/seven days a week and are often the first to be called when the community has a problem with a person with a mental illness (Teller, Munetz, Gil, & Ritter, 2006). They are in some senses required to be “frontline mental

health workers” (Greene, 2000). The perspective in crisis intervention for the mentally ill is that persons with a mental illness are less able to control their emotions, thoughts and behaviors and thus officers interacting with them should be especially observant of their emotional and mental state in order to end an interaction in the most peaceful and productive way possible. Training is typically given to volunteer officers and police dispatch, who assign the trained officers calls that are suspected to involve someone who is mentally ill. Instead of the typical choices of arrest, no arrest, and no action that officers typically aim to employ swiftly, crisis intervention officers are encouraged to take a patient, negotiated approach (presumably managing anger, fear, and panic) and also consider a referral to a partnered mental health facility. The referral hopefully leads to a voluntary commitment to a facility, but could also end in an involuntary commitment. Crisis intervention training seeks to aid officers in de-escalation and teaches situation management that requires officers to take into account the needs of a mentally ill person before, as a last resort, deciding to arrest or use force (Oliva, Morgan, & Compton, 2010). These types of targeted programs have been shown to accomplish some of their goals of education (Compton, Esterberg, McGee, Kotwicki, & Oliva, 2006; Strauss et al., 2005) and psychiatric referral (Teller et al., 2006) and are also possibly related to fewer escalations and injuries (Hanafi, Bahora, Demir, & Compton, 2008; Skeem & Bibeau, 2008).

All considered, the concept of emotional labor is largely overlooked in policing, but scholars and policing professionals in some way practically recognize the emotional nature of people and its impact on the work that police officers do. Still, Watson (2010) suggested that the body of evidence for programs like CIT may always lag a little behind the push to implement them because of their practical necessity and the preliminary successes of current programs. This is likely true for many forms of training programs that are implemented in the police academy

and the police department. Of course, that does not minimize the need for a reliable body of evidence for such programs.

2.1.2 Summary

Since the original concept of emotion work was born out of sociological inquiry (e.g. Hochschild, 1979) the subject is often propelled by its merits as a powerful concept in the study of organizations, the nature of work, and the gendering of jobs. On a practical level though it paves the way to a deeper understanding of an undervalued aspect of service work that seems to influence the quality of virtually all worker-customer interactions. This is especially meaningful in the modern policing environment, where recent cultural shifts are putting police interactions with the community under closer scrutiny. To understand the involvement of emotions in policing better, critical questions must be asked from multiple perspectives. For instance, what individual factors account for variability in the performance of emotional labor during police interactions?

This question is difficult to answer because emotional labor studies of the past did not examine individual variance in performing emotional labor, even though Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) pointed out that a service worker's individual ability to display appropriate emotions probably relates to his/her task performance and relatedly, Rafaeli and Sutton (1990) observed that contextual factors predicted individual variation in emotional labor performances. With the commendable aim to advocate for worker health and wellbeing, most research focused on possible burnout (e.g. Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Grandey, Foo, Groth, & Goodwin, 2012), worker fatigue (B. Van Gelderen, Heuven, Van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg, & Croon, 2007), or job satisfaction (Cottingham, Erickson, & Diefendorff, 2014) as outcomes of emotional labor. The actual success or failure of generating any emotion-related outcomes (satisfaction, trust,

happiness, comfort, repeat business, better health, compliance, etc.), and the differences between individual workers that contributed to this success or failure were overlooked.

This gap applies to the research on police officers especially, where scholars of emotion-related topics have focused on descriptions of the job (e.g. Clark & LaBeff, 1982; Daus & Brown, 2012; Steinberg & Figart, 1999), burnout (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Basinska, Wiciak, & Dåderman, 2014), stress (Chapin, Brannen, Singer, & Walker, 2008; Hassell, Archbold, & Stichman, 2011), or job satisfaction (e.g. Gilmartin, 2002) versus variance in the handling of emotions in the field. Though past research on cynicism (Hickman, 2008; Manning & Vaan Maanen, 1978; Niederhoffer, 1967) and officer health (Gilmartin, 2002) could be linked to job performance, the contribution of officers' emotional skills has been overlooked. This paper more directly seeks to identify the role of emotional skills in officer job performance during interactions with the public. Thus, again an important question is: What accounts for variance in officers' abilities to perform emotional tasks during interactions with the community? According to Guy and colleagues (2008), the answer may exist just outside the lines of work of emotional labor, where emotional intelligence scholars (Mayer & Salovey, 1997) have theorized about one potential source of emotional abilities in humans.

2.2 Emotional Intelligence

Many diverse concepts resulted from the study of what makes people perform well (or poorly) in social situations. These concepts include "social intelligence," which focused on the general ability to manage people (Thorndike & Stein, 1937), "personal intelligences," which were divided into a mental understanding of the self versus others (Gardner, 1983), "theory of mind" abilities, which also emphasized an understanding of self versus others (see Allen & Kinsey, 2013; Frith & Frith, 2005) and empathy, which focused on the ability to understand and

feel the experience of another person (Fuchsman, 2015; Tudor, 2011). Such concepts are relevant to the ability of police officers to perform emotional labor in public interactions, but to a large extent, these theoretical constructs treated the ability to understand and manage people as separate from the capacity to understand and manage emotions. Fortunately, with the conceptualization of *emotional intelligence* (EI), Salovey and Mayer (1990) merged emotional skills with knowledge about social navigation and people management. They described EI as the capacity to recognize and use the emotions of oneself and others to “solve problems and regulate behavior.” In addition, they proposed EI as a uniquely emotion-related sub-component of Gardener’s (1983) personal intelligences, thereby giving it a theoretical context and making it easier to conceptualize. After some updates to the original theory, a more refined definition of emotional intelligence was published:

“Emotional intelligence involves the ability to perceive accurately, appraise, and express emotion; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth.”

(Mayer & Salovey, 1997, pg. 10).

A table of the proposed four-branch model of EI can be found within the same paper (see Table I). In the diagram, EI was broken down into four main branches and a number of subsequent ‘leaves’ describing abilities that are related to EI. From basic functions to the most advanced the four main branches were conceptualized as: 1) Perception, appraisal, and expression of emotion, 2) Emotional facilitation of thinking, 3) Understanding and analyzing emotions and employing emotional knowledge, and 4) Reflective regulation of emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth. The leaves that comprise these branches explained

the emotional skills indicative of each EI domain (see Table I). Notably, some leaves specified emotional skills related to both the self and others, which in Gardner's (1983) work were divided up as "intrapersonal" and "interpersonal" intelligences. For example, under the most advanced domain (number 4) Mayer and Salovey made a distinction between regulating the emotions of oneself and regulating the emotions of others. The most basic branch (number 1) they included describes identifying emotion in oneself and also recognizing it in other people. They even mentioned the ability to recognize emotional content in design and artwork.

TABLE 1**THE FOUR-BRANCH MODEL OF EI (MAYER & SALOVEY, 1997)**

Emotional Intelligence	4. Reflective Regulation of Emotions to Promote Emotional and Intellectual Growth			
	Ability to stay open to feelings, both those that are pleasant and those that are unpleasant.	Ability to reflectively engage or detach from an emotion depending upon its judged informativeness or utility.	Ability to reflectively monitor emotions in relation to oneself and others, such as recognizing how clear, typical, influential, or reasonable they are.	Ability to manage emotion in oneself and others by moderating negative emotions and enhancing pleasant ones, without repressing or exaggerating information they may convey.
	3. Understanding and Analyzing Emotions; Employing Emotional Knowledge			
	Ability to label emotions and recognize relations among the words and the emotions themselves, such as the relation between liking and loving.	Ability to interpret the meanings that emotions convey regarding relationships, such as that sadness often accompanies a loss.	Ability to understand complex feelings; simultaneous feelings of love and hate, or blends such as awe as a combination of fear and surprise.	Ability to recognize likely transitions among emotions, such as the transition from anger to satisfaction, or from anger to shame.
	2. Emotional Facilitation of Thinking			
	Emotions prioritize thinking by directing attention to important information.	Emotions are sufficiently vivid and available that they can be generated as aids to judgment and memory concerning feelings.	Emotional mood swings change the individual's perspective from optimistic to pessimistic, encouraging consideration of multiple points of view.	Emotional states differentially encourage specific problem approaches such as when happiness facilitates inductive reasoning and creativity.
	1. Perception, Appraisal, and Expression of Emotion			
	Ability to identify emotion in one's physical states, feelings, and thoughts.	Ability to identify emotions in other people, designs, artwork, etc., through language, sound, appearance, and behavior.	Ability to express emotions accurately, and the express needs related to those feelings.	Ability to discriminate between accurate and inaccurate, or honest versus dishonest expressions of feeling.

The similarities between Mayer and Salovey's work and Guy and colleagues' (Guy et al., 2008) four components involved in emotional labor are striking because the latter assumed EI is a prerequisite to performing emotional labor well. This relationship is discussed in other work too (e.g. Giardini & Frese, 2006; Joseph & Newman, 2010). Readers should remember though that EI refers to the level of emotional knowledge and skills while emotional labor refers to the effort of feeling and displaying appropriate emotions in the work context. Put simply, EI is a quantification of emotional competence while emotional labor is a description of an emotional task. Thus, good emotional labor requires EI, but emotional labor is just *one* practical application of EI.

2.2.1 The Components of Emotional Intelligence

One of the most useful aspects of the theory of EI was that it drew relationships between various emotion-related abilities and united them under a single concept that could be characterized as a form of intelligence utilized in social interaction. For example, research on recognizing the emotional expressions of others (e.g. Baron-Cohen, Wheelwright, Hill, Raste, & Plumb, 2001; Ekman, Freisen, & Ancoli, 1980), the ability to experience others' emotions through empathy (e.g. de Wied, Branje, & Meeus, 2007; Zahn-Waxler, Robinson, & Emde, 1992), the emotional management of the self (e.g. Gross, 2002), and the emotional management of others (e.g. Cahill & Eggleston, 1994; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990) might have appeared to most people to be distinct aspects of individuals and their social interactions, but the four-branch model of EI specifically unified these ideas and attempted to explain how they might all be related and ultimately work together in social interactions.

Emotional intelligence has been shown to be important for social functioning in a variety of settings. Research on EI suggests it is positively related to perceptions about one's social

competence when rated by peers and teachers (Denham et al., 2003; Lopes, Salovey, Côté, & Beers, 2005; Mavroveli, Petrides, Rieffe, & Bakker, 2007), general social skills and behavior in school children (Izard et al., 2001), friendship (Mestre, Guil, Lopes, Salovey, & Gil-Olarte, 2006), marital quality (Batoool & Khalid, 2012) and even health, emotional coping, academic success and job satisfaction (see Matthews, Zeidner, & Roberts, 2012 for a review). Thus, EI plays a role in many aspects of an individual's life, particularly interpersonal relationships (Schutte et al., 2001).

In the past, knowledge about EI was separated into distinct lines of research that make it difficult to generalize across now because of unique factors and contextual mechanisms. For example, a study about the relationship of EI to marital satisfaction would have led to different conclusions than a study measuring customer satisfaction because of differences in relationship intimacy, outcome goals, personal expectations, or interaction histories. In addition to these contextual differences, much of the existing research examined EI with little theoretical continuity, did not address the link between individual EI components, did not hypothesize about specific emotional skills or failed to discuss the mechanisms through which EI might influence social interaction outcomes in the first place. The following discussion about each EI component will help to distinguish the research that is related to the core ideas in EI and will describe in detail how the components are supposed to work together in adaptive emotional behavior. The hope is that a greater understanding of EI abilities will help to identify generalizable EI outcomes and factors that contribute to individual differences in EI.

2.2.2 Perceiving and Understanding Emotion

The ability to perceive emotion is required before a person is able to achieve any of the more advanced emotional skills. This might be done through attentiveness to visual or auditory

stimuli and also introspection if perceiving emotion in oneself. Being able to recognize emotion in faces is only one part of perceiving emotion in the world, yet this seemingly simple task can have important social implications. Theory of mind research uses this task as a performance indicator (e.g. Allen & Kinsey, 2013). One test requires individuals to view a closely cropped photo of only the eye-level section of a face and select one of four related emotions that the face might be displaying (Baron-Cohen et al., 2001). This test was refined by Baron-Cohen and colleagues (2001) and found to be useful as a test to identify adults with disorders impairing the ability to relate to other humans (e.g. Asperger Syndrome). The authors noted it might also someday be used to “identify subtle impairments in social intelligence in otherwise normally intelligent adults,” (Baron-Cohen et al., 2001, pg. 246).

The relationship between faces and emotion perception is also alluded to in the work on the face-in-the-crowd effect (FICE), where researchers measure an individual’s ability to find a happy or angry face among a crowd of many other faces (Juth, Lundqvist, Karlsson, & Öhman, 2005). Results of some FICE studies show that individual differences in social anxiousness can affect performance when detecting emotions in faces among a crowd, often biasing individuals to see more negative emotion than others (e.g. Coles & Heimberg, 2005; Gilboa-Schechtman, Foa, & Amir, 1999). Damjanovic (2014) found that compared to controls and trainees, experienced riot police in the U.K. were generally better at either detecting an angry face in a distracting crowd or ignoring distracting angry faces to find a happy one, concluding that their experience in recognizing facial threat might have shaped their ability to perceive or filter certain emotions related to threat (i.e. anger). In other words, they were better able to work with those emotions than others. Though the study was lab-controlled and covered a limited range of emotions and situations, it underscored the importance of experience (and training) as a potential predictor of

emotion perception skill. It also suggested that an individual's skill in perceiving emotions could vary by emotion. Explicitly testing the idea of emotional intelligence, Mayer, Dipaolo, and Salovey (1990) showed faces, and colors/designs to people and asked them to rate the emotional intensity of the stimuli using six "primary" emotions: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust. They judged performance by comparing a respondent's answer to a consensus score based on other people's answers. The authors found that better performance (scoring closer to the group score) was positively associated with a separate measure of empathy – preliminary evidence that an ability related to emotional intelligence (accurate emotion perception) might be linked to a broader, more commonly researched emotional concept (empathy). This is an important link to consider in examining the literature relevant to EI components.

In EI the *accurate* perception of emotion is theoretically reflective of advanced processes that indicate a high level of EI. Without these processes for evaluating emotional information about the situation, an individual is unlikely to perceive emotions appropriately. Empathy is one such process that reflects EI. Empathy is not just the perception of emotion, but an understanding of the emotion expressed by another person. In their critical review of the concept, Cuff, Brown, Taylor, and Howat (2014) concluded mainly that: 1) empathy involves the use of cognitive thoughts and emotion to induce a similar yet not identical experience of another person's emotions, 2) that empathy can be engaged automatically and manually (through cognition), and 3) that experiencing empathy does not necessarily require any behavior.

The benefits of empathy have been well documented in scholarly literature, and theorists have long debated its underlying processes. In one study looking at outcomes of empathy in adolescent friendships, de Wied, Branje, and Meeus (2007) found that higher empathy was significantly related to less conflict and more constructive problem solving. Kim, Kaplowitz, and

Johnston (2004) found that patients of physicians were more satisfied with their care and also more compliant with instructions when they perceived more empathy from physicians compared to less empathy (mediated through the perception of a physician's expertise).

Some police officers recognize the need for empathy on the job. Daus and Brown (2012) noted that their sample of police officers viewed empathy as important and acceptable specifically when interacting with victims of a crime. For these officers, however, empathy was only seen as beneficial to a certain extent – officers wanted to be seen as caring but still a “strong” person that the victim could rely on. Factors that might predict how empathetic a person feels are not well established, but Zahn-Waxler and colleagues (1992) observed that young girls who witnessed a person in distress showed more empathic concern than young boys who witnessed a similar situation, suggesting gender could be influential. They also found that a mother's distress elicited more empathetic concern than a female stranger's distress, suggesting that the nature of a relationship might influence the display of empathy. In addition, Liew and colleagues (2011) found that children who were experiencing personal distress or fearfulness were less likely to act empathetically, though the relationship was modest. Finally, Moreno, Klute, and Robinson (2008) found an association between caregiving and a child's empathetic behavior that was partially mediated by a child's “internal resources,” such as cognitive functioning and social skills. However, in a two year follow up, the authors found that the only significant predictor of empathetic behavior was the empathetic behavior two years earlier. Thus, the predictors of empathy are uncertain, but scholars seem to agree that the expression of empathy is usually beneficial in social outcomes.

Often the assumption is made that empathy is good while a lack of empathy is bad. Layered within this assumption is the idea that empathy always motivates caring behavior.

However, since many scholars suggest that empathy itself does not define any observable behavior or display (Cuff et al., 2014) empathy can be thought of more simply as knowledge and understanding about another person's emotions. Prosocial behavior is not a requirement in order to know how someone else is feeling and inversely, empathy is not really a requirement in order to engage in prosocial behavior. Thus, the motivation to act on empathy, the knowledge of how to respond to emotions, and the technique in displaying empathy should not be, by default, lumped in with the experience of empathy. A black box exists where experiencing empathy positively influences interactions through appropriate changes in thinking and behavior. This raises a number of questions. How is information about someone else's emotions actually used (or ignored) in analyzing a situation and regulating behavior? And how might empathy be appropriately displayed if an interaction partner benefits from perceiving it? Fortunately, the strategic use of empathy and other emotional skills during interactions is what EI seeks to understand.

2.2.3 Regulating Emotions, Emotional Displays, and Emotional People

Perceiving and understanding emotions are important components in EI, but analyzing and then managing those emotions (and their display) are advanced components that complete the EI framework. Managing one's own emotions is possible using a number of strategies. Gross (2002) suggested that strategies mainly differ based on when they intervene in the process of emotions being generated. On the one hand, an individual can manage emotions ahead of a situation by manipulating the situation or its meaning in a way that guides emotions in the desired direction later on. For example, an officer might frame their neighborhood patrol as an opportunity to get to know the community and build an alliance with residents rather than as an opportunity to catch them violating the law. On the other hand, an individual might try to

manage emotions as they arise in the moment, often by suppressing the display of any felt emotions. In this case an officer would just work to hide any negative feelings about residents. Thus, displaying or not displaying feelings can actually be itself an attempt at managing personal emotions. Techniques vary widely in between these two extremes. Which strategy is employed varies by emotion, individual and context, but predictive factors are unclear.

Some management strategies might lead to better outcomes than others. Wenzlaff and Wegner (1998) suggest that when trying to avoid thinking about something, framing the effort in terms of *avoidance* is often unproductive. Instead, the authors suggest that one should frame the effort as an *approach* to something. For example, rather than say “do not think of a white polar bear,” one should say “think of a yellow cartoon duck.” The first actually induces the thought to be avoided while the latter provides an alternative to replace it. Thus, an individual who thinks “don’t be angry” may actually be inadvertently priming themselves with anger despite trying to suppress the emotion. Similarly, Gross (2002) found that the use of emotional suppression techniques by one participant in an interaction pair was associated with an increase in stress-related physiological responses among both partners in the interaction when compared to the use of other techniques. Gross concluded that this was due to a diminished expression of all emotions, including positive, supportive ones. A person who suppresses emotions was also less responsive to a partner’s emotional cues because of the increased focus on hiding personal feelings. Thus, reappraisal (reframing of emotional stimuli to decrease the *experience* of the inappropriate emotion) was determined to be a more socially beneficial strategy since it allowed participants to interact in a more emotionally appropriate way. Furthermore, this research found that individuals who typically used suppression were less likely to share any emotions with others and less likely to be liked by others compared to those who typically used reappraisal

techniques. Suppression of emotions, however, has its place. Suppression could be more useful in some social settings than a complete lack of emotion management, especially when a person could escalate a conflict by expressing anger or being the source of someone else's hurt feelings. Nevertheless, emotion suppression is not ideal in the interaction context since it does not necessarily help people feel more comfortable or normalize an interaction. The primary way to do that would be to acknowledge the other person's emotions and actually express appropriate, supportive emotions. This points to the importance of emotional displays, since even the perceived absence of emotion could negatively impact a social interaction.

The relationship between managing personal emotions and managing the emotions of others is readily apparent in the interaction context, especially if one considers how analyzing and displaying emotion can affect both personal feelings and the feelings of other people. Recall that there are few performance predictors related to this type of emotion management in the literature though and empirically measured outcomes of emotion management in workplace interactions are often limited to the effect it has on worker well-being. In one exception, Rafaeli, and Sutton (1990) found that a host of contextual factors predicted store cashiers' expression of positive emotions in interactions with customers. The time of day, gender of the customer, particular store, and other contextual factors were related to the expression of positive emotion from store clerks, the main focus of the study. Still, *individual* performance factors were not examined and outcomes related to the customer's experience were not measured. Cahill and Eggleston (1994) examined the emotion management of wheelchair users and observed that they not only had to manage their own emotions from stares, comments, and patronizing remarks, but also the emotions of uncomfortable others. For example, they laughed at themselves and made jokes to ease anxiety about embarrassing situations and would purposely ignore insensitive

remarks from children. If performed poorly, the outcome was embarrassment, anger or annoyance. Performed well, this emotion management led to the people wheelchair users interacted with being friendlier and leaving the interaction seemingly satisfied, though wheelchair users often still felt hopeless or ashamed in the end. Experience seemed to be a predictor of performance in such instances.

In another branch of scholarship on managing the emotions of others, Bowers (2014) proposed a 3-stage model of conflict de-escalation that was conditional on a “de-escalator” controlling their own emotions and showing respect and empathy throughout the entire process (see also Price & Baker, 2012). Thus, the success of managing others’ emotions was said to depend on the control of personal emotions and the display of emotional understanding, linking several components of EI. In this model, personal control is especially important because it allows the use of verbal and cognitive processes to communicate appropriate emotions for the goal of de-escalating a situation. Bowers (2014) also proposed that even though experience provided prime opportunities to learn de-escalation skills like emotion management, such knowledge could reasonably be acquired before conflict events. Thus, prior experience and training that involve EI skills could be predictive of skillful management of other people’s emotions. This is particularly relevant to the nationwide trend to provide de-escalation training for police officers, since such training curricula might benefit from work on EI abilities.

2.2.4 Measuring Emotional Intelligence

Emotional intelligence is generally assessed via a self-report or skills/ability measure, with self-report methods having some conceptual and empirical obstacles to overcome because of the broad conceptualizations they sometimes implement (Roberts, Zeidner, & Matthews, 2001). The Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) is one of the more

prominent *ability-based* measures of EI (Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, & Sitarenios, 2003) and its conceptualization of EI sticks very closely to the original four-factor model of EI. The measure utilizes an omnibus approach that specifically measures perceiving, using, understanding, and managing emotion as dimensions of EI. This approach makes the MSCEIT not only an ability measure, but also an “integrative” EI measure, since it attempts to observe ability level in all four aspects of EI (Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, 2007). The MSCEIT assesses EI by asking participants to perform actual emotion-related tasks presented in either paper or online form. For example, participants are asked to recognize emotions in faces and pictures, choose emotions that they think would help them accomplish a given task, “blend” emotions by drawing connections between one emotion and its more intense version, and choosing the methods that they think are best for a person to manage their emotions and the emotions of others (Mayer et al., 2003). There are also other instruments that measure *emotional knowledge* (EK; Izard, 2001) by assessing similar skills and following a similar process of testing (Assessment of Children's Emotional Skills (ACES); Schultz, Izard, & Bear, 2004).

Since EI was a relatively new theory when measures like the MSCEIT were first created, some researchers have slightly modified the concept and created separate tests to assess their conceptualizations as well. For example, the Bar-On (2001) Emotional Quotient inventory (EQ-i) relies on self-reporting of abilities and includes a somewhat unique array of elements in its conceptualization of EI. Because of some of its divergences from the original EI theory, this inventory is often referred to as a “trait” (Petrides & Furnham, 2003) or “mixed-model” (Mayer et al., 2007) approach to EI as opposed to an “ability” model approach. This type of measure is considered “self-report” mainly because it asks respondents directly to rate their skill on certain emotional abilities. It is considered “trait” EI because with such self-reports some believe scores

may reflect more stable aspects of a person that are similar to and/or theoretically related to aspects measured by personality (Petrides et al., 2016). Mostly though, a measure like the EQ-i stretches the conceptualization of EI beyond its original formulation. For example, the EQ-i measure seeks to observe five main domains of EI, including 1) inter-personal skills, 2) intra-personal skills, 3) stress management, 4) adaptability and 5) general mood characteristics (Matthews et al., 2012, p. 53). As one can see, the elements included in the EQ-i are much broader than those included in the original EI theory, in fact, probably too broad from the perspective of Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, and Sitarenios (2003). However, taken in consideration with the domain-specific content of tests like the MSCEIT and the ACES, the EQ-i can be particularly valuable and comparable when one looks at the the inter-personal and intra-personal skill items it incorporates. Overall, efforts to compare and contrast self-report, ability-test, trait, and ability methods are currently still underway.

2.2.5 Emotional Intelligence in Police Interactions

As demonstrated in previous sections, the emotional tasks performed by police officers are crucial to the job even though they are not systematically studied and are culturally undervalued. These emotional tasks are especially relevant in police interactions with the community where officers must manage personal emotions to meet interaction expectations set not only by their organization, but also the community. For example, when viewed through the lens of community policing, the work does not stop with an officer maintaining his or her composure in one instance. Positive police-community interactions are needed every day for the community to view the police as a legitimate authority and partner. Procedural justice theory (Tyler, 1988) in policing links community members' perceptions of everyday interactions to their views of police as a legitimate authority (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), making it imperative

that officers attend to the experience of the people they encounter in order to build relationships. Specifically, the four main components of procedural justice in practice include showing dignity and respect, trustworthy motives, neutrality, and giving voice (Mazerolle, Sargeant, Cherney, & Bennett, 2014). Thus, there are defined elements of police conduct that are theorized to not only promote compliance and agency legitimacy, but also foster a positive relationship with the community.

Research finds that individuals feel more negatively about the police and are less likely to cooperate when they view police treatment as unfair (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, and Eggins (2012) evaluated a program that trained officers performing random breath tests of motorists to use a script that verbally expressed neutrality, trustworthy motives, consideration of citizen “voice,” and dignity/respect while interacting, thereby displaying fairness. Ratings related to citizen feelings towards the encounter were compared to citizens who were stopped by a comparison group of officers who performed “business-as-usual.” Findings indicated that the trained officers received higher satisfaction ratings and that the perceived level of fairness and respect in the interaction was indeed higher as well. There is hope that similar types of training can have positive consequences for police-citizen interactions and leave citizens feeling less negative about a police stop and police in general (Murphy & Tyler, 2008; Tyler, 2004). Treating community members in a procedurally just way is part of upholding legitimacy, promoting community policing, and fostering good relationships. What should be clear by now is that procedural justice essentially produces an “emotional product” that benefits the officer, organization and community. Thus, it follows that an officer’s EI is linked to police interactions through procedural justice and its relationship with emotional labor.

Despite its relevance, EI is only sporadically mentioned as a useful concept in police management/leadership (Brunetto, Teo, Shacklock, & Farr-Wharton, 2012; Drodge & Murphy, 2002), training (Cleveland, 2006; Saville, 2006) and performance (Fitch, 2009; Manzella & West, 2003). For example, two articles in an issue of *Police Chief Magazine* described the role that EI topics should play in an ideal problem-based learning (PBL) program designed to be responsive to new knowledge in policing about human behavior and learning (Cleveland, 2006; Saville, 2006). Among other skills, recruits would be taught to be aware of emotional triggers, manage their mental state during stressful situations and understand the impact of emotions in relationships with others. This type of training seems obviously important considering procedural justice and emotional labor. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether such training recommendations are taken seriously in practice. The de-escalation training being introduced today in many training academies may contain elements related to EI, but that remains unknown. There is also a dearth of empirical studies about how EI or EI ability training might actually be related to policing outcomes. For example, Ali, Garner and Magadley (2011) found that EI was positively related to supervisor performance evaluations of Abu Dhabi Police officer's, even after controlling for personality factors and cognitive intelligence (which were both correlated with EI). However, the individual dimensions of performance were not separated in the analysis and the generalizability of their study to the American policing context is tenuous due to potential geographical and cultural differences. A study involving Nigerian police (Afolabi, Awosola, & Omole, 2010) found that EI was related to better performance too, although the performance measures used were unclear.

Some non-policing studies address topics closely related to police interactions, providing a preliminary pathway to apply EI concepts in police interactions. For example, Kernbach and

Schutte (2005) in a randomized control trial using a videotaped customer interaction, found that a service worker who displayed emotional intelligence received higher satisfaction ratings than the service worker who displayed less EI. The study was limited in its external validity because of its design and context, but it provided some evidence that EI might positively influence customer perceptions of interactions between a service worker and a customer. Police interactions with members of the community they serve could be judged similarly, such that officers behaving in an emotionally intelligent way (i.e. performing emotional labor well) would be seen more positively by community members and produce a more positive view of the encounter.

Mueller and Curhan (2006) determined that EI played a significant role in how negotiating partners felt about the outcome of a simulated company acquisition negotiation. For instance, negotiators with a greater understanding of emotions were associated with greater outcome satisfaction among negotiating partners than negotiators with less emotional understanding, even after controlling for the amount of points awarded based on what was gained during the negotiation. In a follow up study, the authors concluded that positive emotions fully mediated the relationship between emotional understanding and outcome satisfaction, implying that high EI negotiators were somehow able to manage the emotions experienced by partners so that they felt more positively and as a result were more satisfied with the outcome. Positive emotions also mediated the relationship between high emotional understanding and being liked and having a partner willing to negotiate again in the future. Thus, with negotiations it appears that one aspect of EI (emotional understanding) contributes to important interaction outcomes because of the positive emotions that EI helps facilitate. The same could be true for police-community interactions where the experience can be similar to a negotiation, especially

when an officer is requesting information and/or compliance with orders from community members who may or may not be agreeable. Clearly, more directed research is required to adequately understand the impact of officer EI in policing.

2.2.6 Summary

EI theorizes that a multitude of emotional skills are linked through four core components: emotion perception, emotion utilization, emotion understanding, and emotion management. These components are meant to support each other and together are expected to relate to many types of socially adaptive behavior. Research shows that EI is indeed related to positive outcomes socially, professionally, and personally, but what is lacking is theoretical continuity and systematic measurement of predictors, outcomes and mechanisms related to EI. Scholarly work suggests that several external factors might influence EI, such as personal experience in dealing with emotions, individual learning histories, anxieties about social situations, personality and even cognitive intelligence. Many researchers hypothesize that EI is beneficial primarily because of its importance in interpersonal communication. However, the mechanisms through which EI influences interpersonal communication can vary depending on the context. Scholars have yet to empirically examine these mechanisms in a number of contexts. Thus, even with the emerging variety of knowledge about the benefits of EI, the literature is limited in its ability to suggest specific hypotheses for EI outcomes in policing. Still, considering the knowledge reviewed about emotional labor, policing, EI and specific EI skills, the current paper theorizes that these elements are interconnected and furthermore, that their connections form a framework for the current study of the relationships between officer EI, attitudes about how to treat people, and the quality of police interactions with colleagues and members of the community.

3. CURRENT STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

Drodge and Murphy (2002) suggest that the theoretical link between police leadership and emotions points to three potential categories for EI research in policing -- research on approaches to developing emotional intelligence, research on the emotional orientation of police leadership, and research that helps identify and select individuals for the job who have a desired emotional orientation. Though the authors saw police leaders as the main population for future EI studies, these areas of inquiry do not have to be limited to administrators and supervisors. Street-level officers are in many ways street-level *leaders* who have to manage emotions just like their superiors, especially in the modern community policing environment (Vinzant & Crothers, 1994), where building relationships and maintaining legitimacy means fostering trust and showing fairness, respect and care even in the most difficult of circumstances (Mazerolle et al., 2012; Rosenbaum & Lawrence, in press; Tyler, 2004). Furthermore, as the review above demonstrates, officers directly deal with emotions in much of their daily work, attempting to meet the expectations set in different encounters so as to perform their job successfully. The current project begins with the premise that a closer analysis of emotional intelligence among police officers can potentially provide important insights into their attitudes and job-related outcomes. Hence, this study will examine hypotheses regarding predictors of EI, as well as hypotheses regarding the relationship of EI with select policing outcomes.

3.1 **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The research questions for this dissertation focus on the topic of EI in police officers, its predictors, and its relationship with interaction-relevant police attitudes, work relations, and reported police behaviors in police-community encounters. A better understanding of emotions in policing may have implications for how management approaches recruitment, training,

supervision, and performance evaluations. Ultimately, if EI is related to the actual perception of empathy and respect during interactions with the public, the positive benefits may also include increased trust from the public and increased legitimacy as an organization.

3.1.1 Research Question 1

Various scholars acknowledge that emotions are indeed part of police work (Basinska et al., 2014; Daus & Brown, 2012; B. R. Van Gelderen, Bakker, Konijn, & Demerouti, 2011; Vivona, 2014). However, the predictors of an officer's ability to effectively handle emotions in police work are unknown because empirical studies about performance typically overlook emotional tasks in favor of a focus on more formally recognized and easily quantifiable concepts. Emotional intelligence may play a role in these overlooked emotional tasks. Theory suggests that EI can vary from person to person though. Does EI vary between police officers, and if so, why? What factors might be related to EI (e.g. social anxiety, gender, prior job experience)?

Research Question 1:

Is there a way to measure emotional intelligence in police officers and examine the factors associated with officer EI?

Whether EI can be measured depends on the validity of the items used and the existence of the construct in the sample studied. The four components of EI implicate a host of variables that could be used to test for emotional intelligence. This research will begin by constructing a measure to detect differences in emotional intelligence between police recruits.

If police officers come into policing with a pre-existing EI "quotient" and are subsequently fully indoctrinated by a culture that de-emphasizes emotional skills (Drodge & Murphy, 2002; Martin, 1999), officers' differences could theoretically be erased and therefore no

measure would capture variance in EI. However, if EI is affected by training and socialization at all, it is more likely that any EI disparity is simply narrowed during training and socialization as opposed to totally erased. Additionally, research on police culture suggests that it is not necessarily monolithic anyway (Paoline, 2004), meaning EI could still vary within police work environments, with some valuing and nurturing EI more than others. Overall, a reliable measure of EI based on its core components should be able to measure EI constructs within a police population.

3.1.2 Hypothesis 1A

Police recruits who report being a police officer before will score higher in EI than recruits reporting no such experience, specifically in reading and understanding other people's emotions (emotional knowledge about others; EKO).

3.1.3 Hypothesis 1B

Older recruits will score higher in EI than younger recruits, specifically in reading and understanding other people's emotions (emotional knowledge about others; EKO).

Research suggests that prior experience in dealing with emotions can give individuals the skills necessary to perform emotional tasks well, particularly as they relate to recognizing emotions and managing emotions (Cahill & Eggleston, 1994; Damjanovic et al., 2014). Thus, previous employment as a police officer might be associated with an individual's EI. For example, officers with prior law enforcement experience likely have experience in dealing with emotions on the job and as such could be more skilled at it. Older officers would have had more experience simply by being alive longer and thus presumably having dealt with emotions for a longer period of time and more frequently than younger officers. Granted, one could also argue that, particularly for police, experience can harden an individual so that they fall into rigid

patterns of social interaction that are not necessarily healthy and serve as a *maladaptive* coping mechanism in social settings (Gilmartin, 2002). However, in such instances, EI may actually serve as a buffer to establishing maladaptive coping strategies. There is no clear empirical consensus on this subject because individuals can vary widely in how they adapt to situations depending on the context (Hickman, 2008).

3.1.4 Hypothesis 1C

Female recruits will score higher in EI than male recruits, especially regarding emotional self-awareness (ESA).

Cultural stereotypes claim that women are more in touch with emotions than men, though research on this relationship is inconclusive. Some scholars theorize that women are restricted to lower paying jobs that require frequent emotional labor more often than men (England & Folbre, 1999). This might lead to women being better at emotional labor than men because of their experiences. One study (Homant, 1983) found that battered women from a shelter preferred responding police officers who were understanding but firm, caring but fair, and informative, while a follow up (Homant & Kennedy, 1985) concluded that female officers were more likely than male officers to exhibit attitudes in line with the characteristics these women preferred. Thus, at least from the community member's perspective, women might outperform men in certain contexts (e.g. with victims and women). A separate EI study found that college women score higher than men in EI (Brackett, Mayer, & Warner, 2004), but this study was not specific to police officers and has not been replicated.

Martin (1999) asserted that policing is traditionally thought of in terms of its stereotypically masculine characteristics, with duties that are not culturally seen as masculine being de-emphasized by employees and even the police organization. Therefore, if women enter

policing having already conformed to societal expectations of being nurturing, loving, and caring they likely face the challenge of conforming to conflicting new policing expectations. Many women may limit the extent to which they conform though, retaining their traditional ‘feminine’ knowledge and skills. Additionally, even if women do change their behavior to be more stereotypically masculine, emotional skills previously acquired in life that might be defined as feminine are not necessarily erased by being socialized as a police officer. Therefore, female officers could reasonably be expected to have higher EI than male officers because of the past influence of and continued adherence to pervasive gender stereotypes.

3.1.5 Hypothesis 1D

Recruits who are more comfortable interacting with strangers will score higher on EI than those who are not, specifically they will be more knowledgeable about other people’s emotions (emotional knowledge about others; EKO).

Research suggests that social anxiety is related to less attentiveness to the emotions of an interaction partner (Gross, 2002). The majority of attention is instead spent attending to and suppressing personal emotions. An individual could also avoid contact with other people entirely, but this is unlikely if that individual is a police officer. In both instances though there is less opportunity to develop and utilize certain EI skills. Thus, comfort interacting with strangers should be positively related to EI because such an individual is probably more likely to interact with other people, observe reactions, interpret feedback, and develop their ability to perceive and manage the emotions of other people. Individuals who are uncomfortable interacting with strangers could potentially still develop skills in perceiving and managing personal emotions (e.g. anxiety-driven emotion suppression), but it is unlikely they develop the ability to accurately perceive and effectively deal with other people’s emotions.

3.2 Research Question 2

Integrating theories about emotional intelligence and emotional labor suggests that individual differences in the ability to perceive, understand, analyze and manage emotions will be related to how an officer handles emotions and interacts with people on the job. At least one meta-analysis suggested that in jobs involving a high level of emotional labor (a category within which policing fits) EI scores predict various measures of performance (Joseph & Newman, 2010). Ultimately, better handling of emotions should lead to better social/interaction outcomes. In Question 2, an officer's attitudes about how to treat community members, their competency rating from officer peers, and the ratings of officers from community members who interacted with them will all be assessed as part of examining the potential impact of EI in policing.

Research Question 2:

Does officer emotional intelligence help to explain variation in officer attitudes about the treatment of community members, perceptions of them from the perspective of peers, and/or the quality of actual interactions that they have with community members?

From a community policing perspective, policing is a service to the community that makes individuals feel involved, safe and respected (Rosenbaum, 1994). As part of this perspective, procedural justice theories suggest that the way a community member is treated by a police officer in an interaction significantly impacts not only their overall satisfaction with that encounter, but also the perceived legitimacy of the institution of policing. Specifically, these theories explain that when community members feels they are treated fairly, respectfully, and listened to by an officer, they are more likely to develop positive views about the interaction and about police generally (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The present research study posits that emotions play a role in this dynamic because social interaction is inherently emotional. Thus, in order for

an officer to be procedurally just, he or she must manage personal emotions in the situation to avoid being inattentive to the experience of the community member they are interacting with. Furthermore, to build a relationship with the community an officer must attune to emotional cues that indicate the kind of experience an individual is having and respond in a way that shows acknowledgement, respect, and even empathy.

3.2.1 Hypothesis 2A

Officers who score higher on emotional intelligence will place more importance on acknowledging the experience of drivers in traffic stops compared to officers who score lower.

Without the recognition, understanding and belief that people's feelings and perspectives must be acknowledged, it is unlikely that any individual would behave in a manner that would be viewed as respectful, fair, empathetic, or generally procedurally just. A recent Pew poll conducted by the National Police Research Platform (Morin, Parker, Stepler, & Mercer, 2017) surveyed almost 8,000 police officers in multiple police agencies across the United States and reported that all respondents believed that showing respect, concern and fairness when interacting with people in the community was either somewhat or very useful, with the majority actually reporting that it was very useful (65%). These attitudes indicate that today's police officers recognize the basic cultural expectations about how they should treat people. However, when it comes to specific behaviors on the job, what these expectations imply may be less clear and thus attitudes could vary between officers and settings. Emotional intelligence might be related to views about more specific behaviors an officer is expected to perform to demonstrate their commitment to being respectful, considerate, and fair. This hypothesized relationship

reflects the idea that EI is generally related to an increased awareness that emotions and subjective experiences can have a meaningful impact on how an interaction plays out.

3.2.2 Hypothesis 2B

Officers who score higher on emotional intelligence will report less openness toward the use of force on community members than those who score lower.

The Pew poll (Morin et al., 2017) also reported that many officers agree with the idea that in certain areas of a city it is more productive to be aggressive with community members than it is to be courteous (56%). Many officers also agreed that generally there are people who cannot be reasoned with using any method other than force (44%). What implications do these types of attitudes have for community policing and procedural justice? For one, such attitudes suggest that officers may consider the use of community policing strategies and procedural justice behaviors as less useful for some areas of a city and subsequently may be less willing to implement them there. These attitudes also beg the question of whether there are individual differences between officers in their views of force, and whether some officers are less amenable to courteousness, bargaining, or negotiation. Force, if used inappropriately or threatened prematurely, can fundamentally damage any attempt to display understanding and empathy and has far reaching consequences for the way community members view the police. As such, the use of force to gain compliance with requests or commands would be seen as a last resort for “community policing” oriented officers, especially if they have an exceptional ability to use alternative strategies of persuasion. Hence, one would expect that openness toward using force on community members will be lower among officers reporting higher EI, which would facilitate their use of non-physical solutions during interactions with the community.

3.2.3 Hypothesis 2C

Officers who score higher on EI will be rated higher by peers on an overall performance/competency measure compared to officers who score lower.

EI scholars propose that in the workplace EI leads to various positive outcomes for individuals, but through what specific mechanism(s)? This study proposes that workplace relationships with colleagues are potential mechanisms by which EI can impact some job-related outcomes. Detailed studies explaining the impact of EI on professional relationships are sparse, though related research suggests that individuals with high EI are perceived by peers as more cooperative (Mavroveli et al., 2007), more interpersonally sensitive (Lopes et al., 2005) and are nominated as friends more often (Lopes et al., 2004) than individuals with low EI. In this study, police recruits at the training academy rated fellow recruits on a number of characteristics that were aggregated into one overall peer rating. Recruits higher in EI should be rated more positively on this index by their peers compared to recruits with lower EI.

3.2.4 Hypothesis 2D

Officers who score higher on emotional intelligence will be rated by actual community members they interact with as being more respectful and empathetic than those who score lower on EI.

One of the most influential impacts EI might have in the context of policing is on the way officers actually interact with community members. As liaisons between the government agency responsible for public safety and the community, part of a police officer's job is to maintain police legitimacy and build relationships, which procedural justice theory says can be achieved by treating people in a fair, respectful, and caring manner. This requires emotional labor, and by association, emotional intelligence. In the present data, actual community members rated the

procedural justice behaviors of an officer with whom they had a recent encounter – officers included in this study. If officer EI is one of the factors with a meaningful influence in this context, it should be manifested in the community member’s perception of the level of respectfulness and empathy exhibited by the officer.

3.3 Datasets

3.3.1 Police Recruits

The dataset utilized for analyses includes information about several recruit characteristics, attitudes and beliefs as discussed below. Specifically, the self-report data about the police officers in this study were collected for 1,072 new officers from four large departments in four states and a number of smaller departments in a fifth state. Additionally, peer rating data were collected for a subset of these officers ($n = 188$) from one large department. The information was collected in two main waves of survey data (collected at the start and conclusion of police training academy, six months apart). The collection effort was part of a multi-component project associated with the National Police Research Platform (NPRP) at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) and made available for the current analysis via authorization from the director of the NPRP project. This research was originally approved by the Institutional Review Board at UIC (UIC Protocol #2009-0186, PAF #2008-04381). Participants had a confidential number assigned to them during the first survey that allowed the follow up survey to be matched with data from the previous survey, though the current set of data does not include those original ID numbers and is not associated with any identifiable information.

3.3.2 Police-Community Interaction Survey

Ratings of an officers' ability to interact with community members were drawn from a previously conducted survey of community members who at the time had experienced a recent interaction with an officer in the sample ($n = 522$). This information was collected in regards to a subset of the officers in the total sample ($n = 211$), all from one agency. This interaction dataset was made available for the current analysis via authorization from the director of the NPRP project and its collection was originally approved by the Institutional Review Board at UIC (UIC Protocol #2007-0925). The researchers worked with the police department each week to mail survey invitation letters to community members with a recent interaction with one of the officers. The letter asked community members to fill out a survey about their encounter via the phone or web, and it included both an English and Spanish versions of the survey. The invitation letter also included a "pin" number that participants needed to enter to access the survey. This pin number was used by researchers to help identify and remove duplicate responses (based on the time elapsed between responses and completeness of each response). The pin number has been eliminated from the present dataset. Community members were informed that the survey was run by an independent organization (the University of Illinois at Chicago) and that they would not be identifiable to researchers and that their individual survey responses would not be known to the police. Ratings by community members for individual interaction incidents were linked with a subset of individual officers via a secure, confidential identification number. Again, the current set of dataset does not include these confidential ID numbers. The web and voice interactive surveys were managed by Plum, Inc. with data available to UIC. To supplement these data, the research team regularly received a de-identified police department dataset that included information about each police contact that resulted in a survey invitation letter,

including demographics of the anonymous community member involved (originally matched via the pin number). This de-identified information was merged with the survey data.

3.3.3 Missing Data

Variables from the recruit and community surveys used in the analyses had instances of missing data due to both item non-response (where participants chose to not answer an item; coded as “99”) and planned non-response (where some officers were not offered a certain item in order to reduce the burden of taking the survey, or where community feedback about an interaction was not solicited; coded as “.”). Item non-response was low (< 5.0%) for all but two variables, and the largest non-response was 8%.

The original data included some imputed demographic data for community respondents who completed the interaction survey with missing data. An alternate source of demographic information – police reports – was used to do this imputation for approximately 11.2% of the community member sex/gender data, 14.5% of the community member age data, and 44.2% of community member race/ethnicity data. Regarding other missing data, multiple imputation or other forms of regression imputation were not warranted because of the small proportion of missing data, a reasonable assumption that the data were missing at random (MAR), and the statistical modeling method utilized in the analyses (structural equation modelling; SEM). In fact, some suggest it is best to utilize testing methods such as full information maximum likelihood (FIML) for missing data within an SEM since it is able to include cases with missing data without statistical imputation methods that could introduce bias or be affected by non-normal data (Enders, 2001; Schminkey, von Oertzen, & Bullock, 2016; StataCorp, 2013). This FIML method will be the approach utilized here to account for missingness in non-demographic variables.

3.4 Measures

3.4.1 Emotional Intelligence

On the one hand, measures like the EQ-i (Baron-Cohen et al., 2001) broaden the EI theory that Salovey and Mayer (1990) conceptualized originally. On the other hand, many of the specific self-report items used on the EQ-i are in fact theoretically and practically linked to several of the EI components tested by ability-based measures of EI like the MSCEIT.

Fortunately, those items are very similar in nature to many of the self-report items included on the recruit survey. For example, “I know how to deal with upsetting problems” (EQ-i) correlates closely to the recruit survey item “I know how to deal with people who are upset” and “I’m unable to understand the way other people feel” (EQ-i) is similar to the recruit survey item “I find it easy to figure out what other people are feeling,” (see Petrides & Furnham, 2003 or Zijlmans, Embregts, Gerits, Bosman, & Derksen, 2011 for more EQ-i example items).

While giving special weight to the roots of EI theory (Salovey & Mayer, 1990), the current conceptualization and measurement of EI is based on these types of items and common themes from the past two decades of research and insight on EI. Specifically, the current measure utilizes items from the recruit survey that are the most relevant to one of the domains of the four-factor model of EI. Overall, the main goal was to establish a foundation for measuring emotional intelligence in the policing context, specifically as it relates to officers interacting with people in the community.

To construct the measure of EI, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was run on items taken at the beginning of the training academy (i.e. pre-academy). Items were generally chosen for the EFA if they were closely related to emotions and could be reasonably categorized into

one of the four dimensions of EI, though unfortunately not every potential aspect of EI was covered in the current dataset (see Table II for the reduced list of items and where they fit).

TABLE II

EMOTION-RELATED ITEMS SEPARATED INTO LATENT EI FACTORS

Theoretical EI Factor	Measured Latent Factors
1) Perception, appraisal, and expression of emotion	<i>Emotional self-awareness (ESA)</i>
	Notice my emotions
	Pay a lot of attention to my feelings
	Am usually aware of the way that I'm feeling Often stop to analyze how I'm feeling
2) Emotional facilitation of thinking	N/A
3) Understanding and analyzing emotions and employing emotional knowledge	<i>Emotional knowledge about others (EKO)</i>
	I am good at reading other people's emotions
	I know how to make someone comfortable
	I know how to resolve conflict between people
4) Reflective regulation of emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth	<i>Emotional demeanor (ED)</i>
	I am patient when dealing with people
	I always remain calm when dealing with upset people
	I always carefully listen to what others are saying
	I am always empathic when talking with people

The EFA utilized an oblique “promax” rotation, which assumes some co-variation between the latent factors tested. Items that loaded onto a factor weakly were excluded from the construct (below .30). A three factor solution provided the best fit after removing two items that were conceptually incompatible. In all, the ability to perceive and think about personal emotions (emotional self-awareness; ESA), the ability to perceive and then manage other people's emotions (emotional knowledge about others; EKO), and the ability to display emotional understanding during interactions with others (emotional demeanor; ED) were represented by the final items included. For each factor, the items were coded such that a higher score indicated greater EI. Cronbach's alpha coefficient reliability for the factors identified by the EFA were .81 for ESA, .71 for EKO, and .69 for ED. To test the constructs, a confirmatory factor analysis was

conducted using structural equation modelling. The comparison of model statistics and goodness of fit information showed that both the second and third model were superior to the first model and that model 2 and 3 were statistically about the same (Table III).

TABLE III

FIT STATISTICS FOR THREE LATENT MEASUREMENT MODELS OF EI

	Model 1 (n = 326)	Model 2 (n = 326)	Model 3 (n = 326)
X ² (df)	83.28*** (41)	50.37 (39)	50.39 (40)
RMSEA	.056 [.039,.074]	.03 [0, .052]	.028 [0,.05]
CFI	.955	.955	.989
TLI	.94	.988	.985
CD	.986	.985	.989
AIC	5,655.963	5,627.056	5,625.076
BIC	5,792.291	5,770.958	5,765.191
Note: *** = <.001			

Tests of goodness of fit also provided modification indices that suggested covariance terms that could be added to the model to improve model fit, but these were incorporated only if it made theoretical sense to make the modification suggested. Thus, the second model had been modified to include two-item covariance terms in addition to the covariance between latent factors. These were 1) “Pay a lot of attention to my feelings”/”Often stop to analyze how I’m feeling” and 2) “I notice my emotions”/”I am usually aware of the way I’m feeling.” The latter item covariance turned out to be non-significant in the analyzed model ($r = .13$, 95% CI [-1.31, 1.57]). The third model adjusted for this by removing the non-significant item covariance, including only the covariance between paying attention to personal feelings and stopping to analyze how one is feeling (in addition to the covariance between latent factors of course).

Model 3 was chosen as the final, most parsimonious model to measure the three latent EI-related factors (Figure 1). A “Wald” test for equation-level goodness of fit showed that all factor loadings were significant at the $p < .001$ level. The three latent factors were significantly

positively correlated with each other: ED/EKO ($r = .71$, 95% C.I. [.60, .82]), ED/ESA ($r = .16$, 95% C.I. [.02, .30]), EKO/ESA ($r = .28$, 95% C.I. [.15, .41]). The single error covariance term was significantly positive as well ($r = .33$, 95% C.I. [.22, .43]). This promising measurement model will be used for hypothesis testing; thus a more detailed discussion on model fit and coefficients (e.g. standard errors) will be presented later.¹

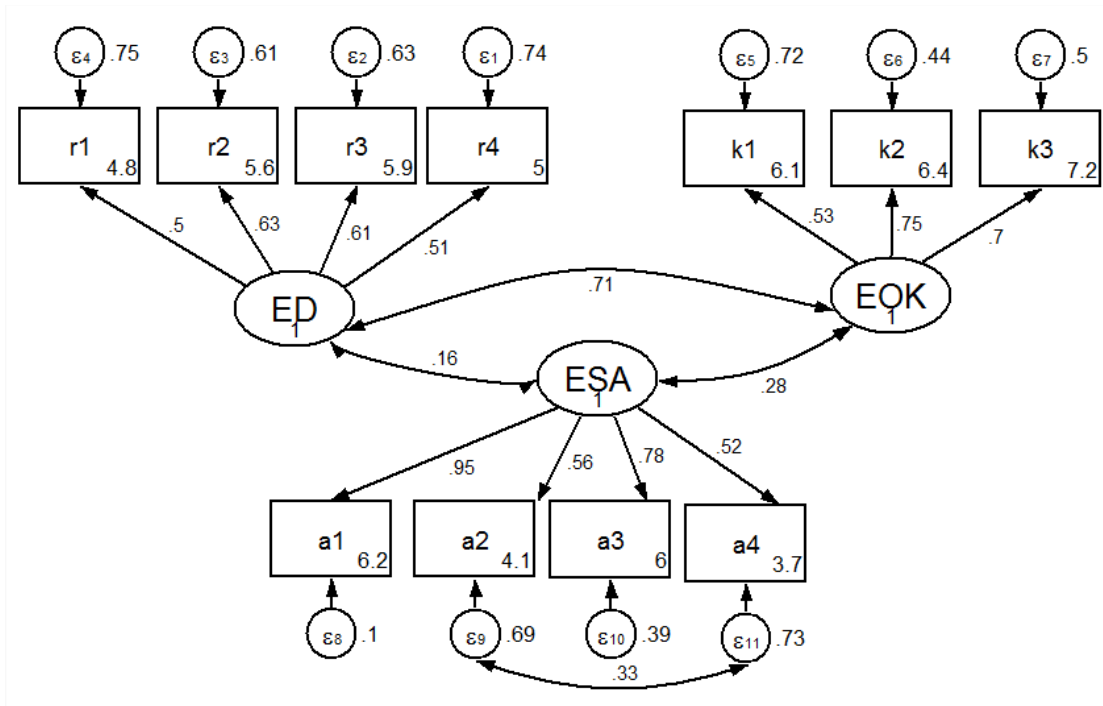


Figure 1. The results of the CFA representing 3 dimensions related to EI.

3.4.2 Previous Experience as an Officer

Previous experience as an officer was measured via a binary (0 = no, 1 = yes) item asking: “Prior to this job, did you serve as a sworn officer in another jurisdiction?” A yes would indicate some experience with emotional labor specific to police work, as suggested by past research.

¹ Factor loadings and descriptive statistics for all items included in the confirmatory factor analysis can be found in Table IV, Appendix.

3.4.3 Comfort Interacting with Strangers

Comfort interacting with strangers was measured with officer responses to four items such as “I am uncomfortable around people I don’t know,” and “It’s easy for me to talk with strangers.” Officers answered from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (4), although certain items were reverse-coded for analysis. The items were based on a previous scale for measuring discomfort with strangers (Lawrence, Christoff, & Escamilla, 2017). These items were re-coded such that a higher score indicated greater comfort interacting with strangers. Cronbach’s alpha reliability of the four items making up this modified latent scale was .63.

3.4.4 Age and Gender

Age was determined by calculating the difference between a respondent’s birthdate and the date the survey was administered. Gender was determined by asking, “What is your gender?” with a female (0) and male (1) option.

3.4.5 Acknowledging Driver Experience

Officers’ views towards acknowledging the experience and feelings of a driver who has just been stopped in traffic were measured via three items asking officers to rate the priority of several behaviors that police officers might be expected to engage in during a routine traffic stop (where a driver failed to make a full stop at a stop sign). The items were rated from very low priority (1) to very high priority (5), with a “some priority” option as neutral (3). As an example, one of the items asked officers to rate the priority of the behavior “Acknowledge the driver’s feelings.” Another item asked officers to rate the priority of the behavior “Let the driver tell his or her side of the story.” The items were coded such that higher scores indicated greater priority given to acknowledging a driver’s experience. Cronbach’s alpha coefficient reliability for the scale was .83.

3.4.6 Openness toward the Use of Force

Officer openness toward the use of force was measured as a latent variable made up of four items that asked officers how much they agreed or disagreed with statements such as “Police officers are often in situations where it is more appropriate to use physical force than to keep on talking to a person,” “Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way,” and “Sometimes forceful police actions are very educational for civilians.” Each was rated from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5), with a neutral option (3). The items were coded such that lower scores on this scale indicated *greater* openness toward the use of force. Cronbach’s alpha coefficient reliability for the four items was .68.

3.4.7 Peer Ratings

Multiple peers rated each officer from unacceptable (1) to exceeded expectations (4) on nine different questions asking about how they viewed the officer’s initiative, problem solving/decision making, integrity, team work, attitude, accountability/dependability, adaptability/responsiveness, communication with others, and job knowledge/professional development. These ratings had been previously combined and aggregated in the provided data for each officer such that a subset of officers in the sample ($n = 188$) had a peer rating in the form of a single, combined mean rating. This rating was used as an endogenous outcome measure to assess how officers’ peers perceived them. The rating was standardized and coded such that higher scores indicated a more favorable peer rating.

3.4.8 Empathy and Respect Ratings

The measurement of community members’ ratings of an officer’s empathy and respect ($n = 522$) were based on latent factors constructed in a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of procedural justice-related dimensions reported in a previous publication (Rosenbaum et al.,

2017). *Empathetic* included four questions such as “During the encounter, the officer seemed concerned about my feelings,” that ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). *Respectful* included three items such as “During the encounter, the officer treated me with dignity and respect,” that ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). Each factor’s items were coded such that a higher score indicated greater empathy or respect. Cronbach’s alpha coefficient reliability was .96 for empathy and .85 for respect.

3.5 Data analysis plan

3.5.1 Question 1: Structural Equation Model A

A series of SEM tests will assess the hypotheses stated previously. The first analysis will focus on the correlates of emotional intelligence and evaluate the potential for age, gender, comfort interacting with strangers, and previously working as a police officer to influence three EI-related dimensions (Table V). Specifically, a SEM model will simultaneously test all four hypotheses that fall under the first research question.

TABLE V

STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODEL A	
Exogenous Factors	Endogenous Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Officer Age • Officer Gender • Previously an Officer • Comfort Interacting (latent) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional Self-Awareness (latent) • Emotional Knowledge about Others (latent) • Emotional Demeanor (latent)

Age, gender, and previously being an officer will be treated as exogenous manifest (i.e. observed) variables affecting EI dimensions, while comfort interacting with strangers will be treated as an exogenous *latent* (i.e. unobserved) factor predicting EI dimensions (Figure 2). The three EI constructs will be developed utilizing post-academy EI items (with less missing data than pre-academy items) and treated as endogenous latent outcomes that share covariance.

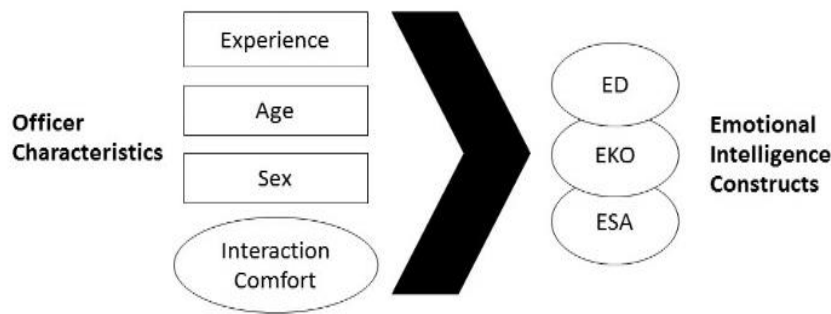


Figure 2. Conceptual diagram of SEM model for Question 1.

3.5.2 Question 2: Structural Equation Model B1 and B2

The first three hypotheses under ‘Research Question 2’ will be tested by analyzing officers’ views on priority behaviors in traffic stops, their openness toward the use of force, and peer ratings. The last hypothesis will be tested by analyzing the empathy and respect ratings for individual officers that were provided by community members. Note that the data for the analysis of the final hypothesis exist in a partially clustered form such that a number of community member responses are clustered within some of the individual officers. These data

have not been aggregated to the officer level. Despite this structure of the dataset, due to the statistical method of choice (latent factor modeling, or SEM), the frequency of officers only having *one* community member’s rating of empathy and/or respect, and the relatively small size of the overall sample with both complete community ratings and police recruit data, a multi-level generalized structural equation model (ML-GSEM) did not appear feasible for answering hypothesis 2D, though its use was considered. Testing of all hypotheses under ‘Research Question 2’ will be conducted using maximum likelihood SEMs. In the case of the final hypothesis, the SEM will be conducted with “clustered robust” standard errors requested. The calculation of the clustered robust standard error does not assume multivariate normality *or* independence of the errors (see StataCorp, 2013), which suits the data best.

The first tested model (Model B1) will treat the three EI factors (ESA, ED, and EKO) as exogenous latent factors, while openness toward the use of force (OUF) and prioritization of acknowledging a driver’s experience (ADE) will be treated as endogenous latent factors. The peer rating will be modeled as an endogenous manifest outcome (Figure 3).

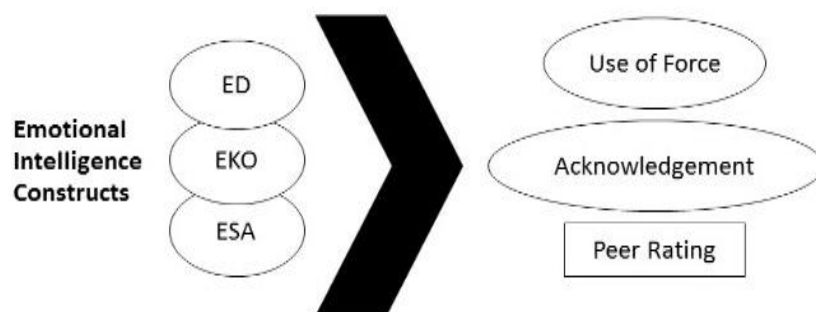


Figure 3. Conceptual diagram of SEM model for Question 2.

Using a subset of the available data, the second tested model (Model B2) will again treat the three EI factors (ESA, ED, and EKO) as exogenous latent factors, but will model the community ratings of empathy and respect as the endogenous latent outcomes (Figure 4). In Model B2, auxiliary (control) variables will include the type of interaction experienced (officer

initiated vs. citizen initiated) as manifest, and the age and race of the community members as manifest. Past research has shown that in addition to things like procedural justice, these variables can have a large impact on the way community members perceive their interactions with police officers (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Lai, 2013).

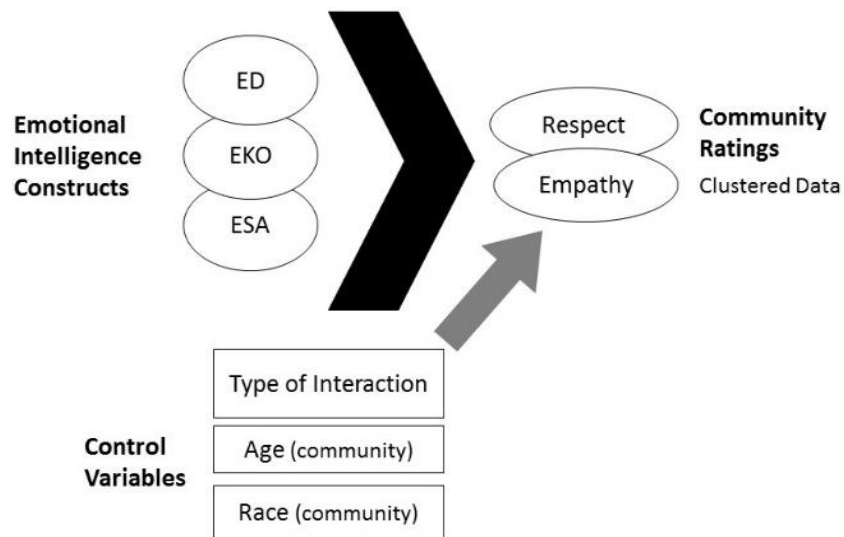


Figure 4. Conceptual diagram of SEM model for Question 2 (part 2).

4. RESULTS

4.1 Question 1 (Model A)

The data for Question 1 included 1,062 officers aged 20 to 55 ($M = 28$, $S.D. = 5.40$). Ten officers from the full study sample had dropped out of the study and/or training academy and thus were not included. The majority of officers were men (83.3%) with no prior policing experience (89.6%). The racial composition of the sample consisted of majority White officers (69.1%), followed by Hispanic/Latino (15.1%), Black/African-American (12%), Asian (2.5%), other (1%), and Native American (0.4%). The included officers reported scores from 1 to 5 for emotional self-awareness and 1 to 4 for emotional knowledge about others and emotional demeanor (item standard deviations ranged from .44 to .87).² In order to gain a better descriptive understanding of the EI scores for the officers in the data, an average score (index) for each EI factor was calculated using each factor's items.³ The emotional self-awareness index had a mean of 3.49 ($S.D. = .62$), while the emotional knowledge about others index had a mean of 3.13 ($S.D. = .39$) and the emotional demeanor index had a mean of 3.16 ($S.D. = .44$). Based on the standard deviations of these indexes, there was a moderate amount of variation in EI scores among officers.

As is common in much of social science research, the variables used to assess the hypotheses under question 1 violated the multivariate normality assumptions of SEM.⁴ This suggests that the estimated standard errors of parameter coefficients might have a slightly greater chance of being underestimated. Thus, a number of precautions were taken considering the nature of these data. For one, several omnibus fit statistics were assessed and will be reported to

² Means and standard deviations for all individual items can be found in Table VI, Appendix.

³ An index score for each EI factor was calculated if two or more non-missing variables were present.

⁴ Based on the Henze-Zirkler test for multivariate normality.

assure readers that the overall model fits the covariance structure of the data satisfactorily. Mainly, the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Akaike information criterion (AIC) will provide the measures of fit such that an RMSEA between 0 and .08, a CFI over .95, and a TLI above .95 represent good overall fit, and a model with a lower BIC or AIC than another nested model can be interpreted as providing a better explanation of the covariances between variables in the model (Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006; West, Taylor, & Wu, 2012). Additionally, the “p-value” cut-off for meaningful significance of any parameter estimate will be set to .01 and confidence intervals will reflect a 99% confidence. Finally, since it formally relaxes the multivariate normality assumption (StataCorp, 2013), the “robust standard error” method of SEM was selected for the finalized model in order to note any substantive differences in the estimated parameters. The justification for not choosing the “robust standard error” method of SEM in the first place was that fit statistics such as the RMSEA, CFI, and TLI were not available when such an option was selected.

Three structural equation models (SEM) utilizing the full information maximum likelihood method (FIML) in Stata were analyzed and compared to test hypotheses 1A, 1B, 1C, and 1D⁵. The FIML statistical method allowed the test to include cases that were missing responses on some variables, rather than use listwise deletion (see Schminkey et al., 2016; StataCorp, 2013). Table VII presents the respective fit statistics for each successive model. Model A1 tested the previously described EI measurement model in combination with the proposed structural (i.e. path) model. Based on Model A1’s reasonable, but improvable fit statistics and theoretically defensible modification indices, Model A1.2 added three item

⁵ Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables included in Model A1.3 can be found in Table VI, Appendix.

covariance terms: including 1) “I notice my emotions/I often analyze how I feel,” 2) “I’m uncomfortable around people I don’t know/I’m uncomfortable around people of the opposite sex,” and 3) “I find it easy to talk to strangers/I’m uncomfortable around people of the opposite sex.” Fit statistics for Model A1.2 are presented in Table VII. A final look at fit and modification indices justified the inclusion of an additional item covariance term between two items of the latent variable “comfort interaction.” The wording of the items and their commonality under one latent factor made it reasonable that they might share some covariance. Thus, a covariance term between “I’m uncomfortable around people I don’t know” and “I don’t like to talk to people I don’t know” was added and tested in Model A1.3. The goodness of fit statistics for Model A1.3 (Figure 5) are presented in Table VII.

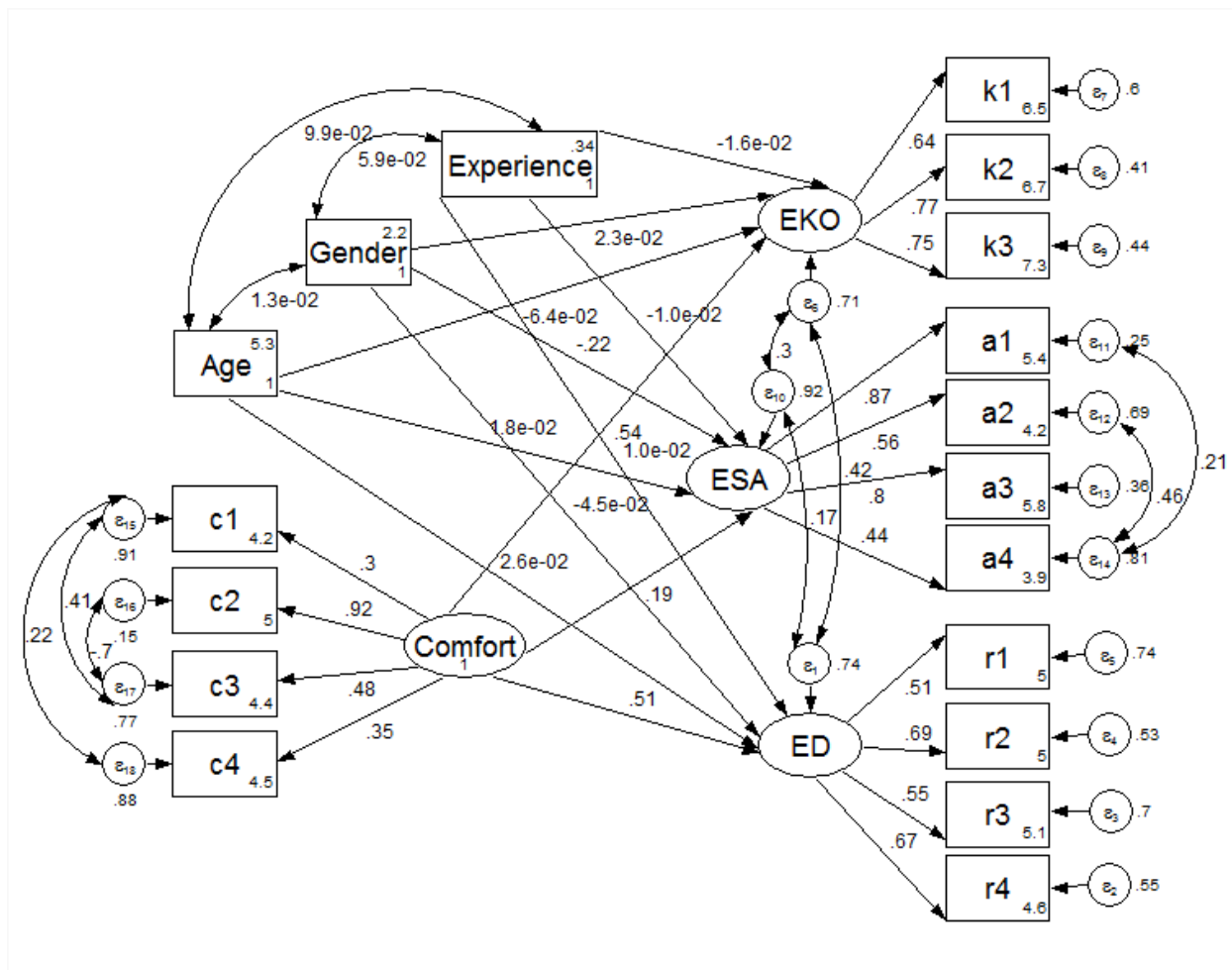


Figure 5. Model A1.3 testing the relation of recruit characteristics and interaction comfort to EI.

TABLE VII

FIT STATISTICS AND COMPARISON OF MODELS A1 THOUGH A1.3.			
	Model A1 (n = 1018)	Model A1.2 (n = 1018)	Model A1.3 (n = 1018)
X ² (df)	365.71*** (119)	225.50*** (116)	191.00*** (115)
RMSEA	.045 [.04,.05]	.030 [.024, .036]	.025 [.019, .032]
CFI	.913	.962	.973
TLI	.891	.950	.965
CD	.716	.815	.956
AIC	24,930.851	24,796.638	24,764.145
BIC	25,275.643	25,156.207	25,128.639

*** = <.001

The basic chi-square test that assesses whether the model is significantly different than the best possible model (a saturated model) was significant (< .001), but with large sample sizes (those over 200) this is not unusual and RMSEA and other goodness of fit tests have been shown to be better assessments of fit in such cases (West et al., 2012). For Model A1.3, the RMSEA, TLI, and CFI assessments all reported numbers within the “good fit” thresholds and the AIC and BIC were the lowest of the three models tested (see Table VII).

Parameter estimates for the measurement portion of Model A1.3 are summarized in Table VIII. A Wald test (Wald, 1943) for equation-level goodness of fit was performed for each endogenous outcome in the model and suggested that coefficients were not all equal to zero for any equations of the endogenous outcomes. In the model, every observed variable loaded significantly positively on its latent factor ($p < .001$). For emotional self-awareness (ESA), “I am usually aware of the way that I’m feeling” (a3) loaded on the factor most strongly ($\beta = .80$), while for emotional knowledge about others (EKO), both “I know how to make someone comfortable” (k2) and “I know how to resolve conflict between people” (k3) loaded on the factor similarly ($\beta = .77$ and $\beta = .75$, respectively). For emotional demeanor (ED), “I always carefully listen to what others are saying” (r2) loaded the most strongly ($\beta = .69$) and for comfort

interacting with strangers (comfort), “It’s easy for me to talk with strangers” (c2) loaded the most strongly ($\beta = .92$). The only error covariance term that was not significant at the .01 level was between “c2” and “c3.” Overall, the measurement portion of the model appears to have performed well within the lines of the confirmatory factor analysis presented earlier. No substantive differences were observed when requesting normal versus robust standard errors.

TABLE VIII

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR LATENT MEASUREMENT PORTION OF
MODEL A1.3

Latent	Observed	β^*	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ESA	a1	-	-	-	-
ESA	a2	0.56	0.04	<.001	[0.46,0.66]
ESA	a3	0.80	0.04	<.001	[0.7,0.91]
ESA	a4	0.44	0.04	<.001	[0.32,0.55]
EKO	k1	-	-	-	-
EKO	k2	0.77	0.03	<.001	[0.69,0.85]
EKO	k3	0.75	0.03	<.001	[0.66,0.84]
ED	r1	0.51	0.05	<.001	[0.39,0.64]
ED	r2	0.69	0.04	<.001	[0.59,0.78]
ED	r3	0.55	0.05	<.001	[0.42,0.67]
ED	r4	-	-	-	-
Comfort	c1	-	-	-	-
Comfort	c2	0.92	0.08	<.001	[0.73,1.12]
Comfort	c3	0.48	0.08	<.001	[0.29,0.68]
Comfort	c4	0.35	0.05	<.001	[0.22,0.48]
Covariance					
-	e.ESA/e.ED	0.17	0.06	<.001	[0.01,0.34]
-	e.ESA/e.EKO	0.30	0.06	<.001	[0.15,0.45]
-	e.ED/e.EKO	0.42	0.07	<.001	[0.24,0.6]
ESA	e.a1/e.a4	0.21	0.07	<.001	[0.04,0.38]
ESA	e.a2/e.a4	0.46	0.04	<.001	[0.35,0.57]
Comfort	e.c1/e.c3	0.41	0.05	<.001	[0.28,0.55]
Comfort	e.c1/e.c4	0.22	0.04	<.001	[0.1,0.34]
Comfort	e.c2/e.c3	-0.70	0.54	.20	[-2.08,0.69]
Note: All reported coefficients are significant at the .01 level except e.c2/e.c3.					
* Constrained coefficients not reported.					

Results for the structural (path) part of the model are summarized in Table IX. Neither age nor previously being an officer were significantly related to any of the EI factors. Only officer gender and comfort in interactions with strangers seemed to be significantly related to any of the EI factors. On average, being male significantly reduced emotional self-awareness scores for officers ($\beta = -.22$), though gender was not significantly related to emotional demeanor or emotional knowledge about others. Comfort interacting with strangers was positively associated with all aspects of EI. The strongest relation of comfort in interactions with EI was on the emotional knowledge about others (EKO) and emotional demeanor (ED) factors ($\beta = .54$, and $\beta = .51$, respectively), while the weakest (but still significant) correlate was emotional self-awareness ($\beta = .19$). The implication of these relationships will be discussed in detail later. Just one of the covariances between the exogenous *observed* variables (age, gender, and experience) was significant at the .01 level. Age was significantly positively related to having previously been an officer ($\beta = .10$, $p = .01$). At the more liberal $p = .05$ level, being male was also significantly positively related to having previously been an officer ($\beta = .06$, $p = .03$). No substantive differences in relationships were observed when requesting normal versus robust standard errors.

TABLE IX

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR DIRECT EFFECTS AND COVARIANCES OF
MODEL A1.3

Model A1.3	β						
Direct	Age	Gender	Experience	Comfort	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ED	.03				0.041	0.52	[-0.08,0.13]
EKO	-.06				0.042	0.12	[-0.17,0.04]
ESA	.02				0.042	0.67	[-0.09,0.13]
ED		-.05			0.043	0.30	[-0.08,0.12]
EKO		.02			0.038	0.55	[-0.051,0.096]
ESA		-.22*			0.038	<.001	[-0.31,-0.12]
ED			.01		0.040	0.80	[-0.09,0.11]
EKO			-.02		0.039	0.68	[-0.12,0.08]
ESA			-.01		0.042	0.81	[-0.12,0.10]
ED				.51*	0.061	<.001	[0.35,0.66]
EKO				.54*	0.057	<.001	[0.39,0.69]
ESA				.19*	0.050	<.001	[0.06,0.32]
Covariance							
Gender	0.01				0.029	0.65	[-0.06,0.09]
Experience	0.10*				0.039	0.01	[0.00,0.20]
Experience		0.06 [†]			0.027	0.03	[-.01,0.13]

[†] Significant only at $p = .05$ level.

4.2 Question 2 (Model B1 and B2)

4.2.1 Model B1

To test hypotheses 2A through 2C, the data for Question 1 were analyzed with a different SEM model that included Question 2 outcomes of interest (Model B1)⁶. Even though the analysis for Question 1 suggested there was not a meaningful difference between normal and robust standard errors, statistical and practical precautions will still be taken while reporting results for Question 2 in order to account for the lack of multivariate normality of the variables included in the test⁷. Again, multiple fit statistics will be reported for the model with normal

⁶ Correlations, means and standard deviations for all variables in Model B1.2 can be found in Table X, Appendix.

⁷ Based on the Henze-Zirkler test for multivariate normality.

standard errors, the p-value cutoff for statistical significance will be set to .01, 99% confidence intervals will be reported, and parameter estimates with robust standard errors were compared to those with normal standard errors.

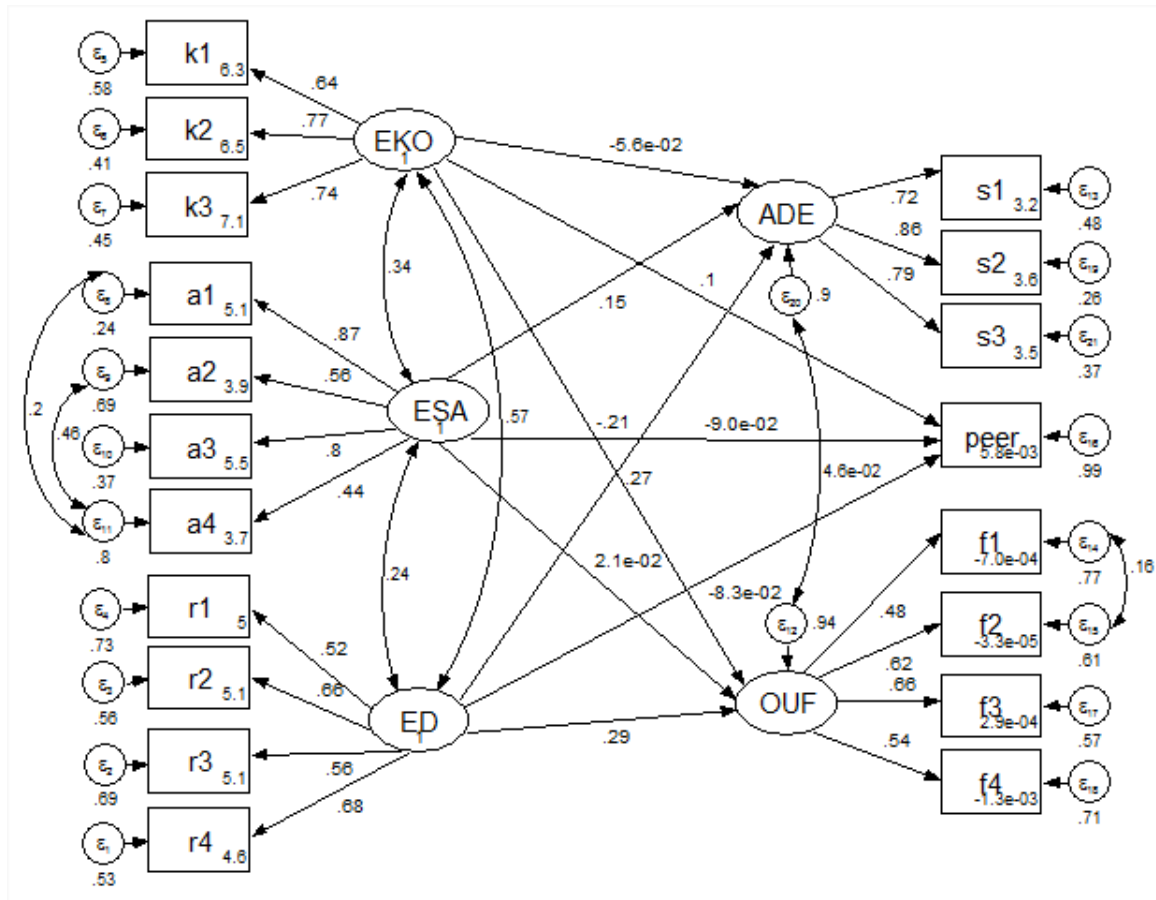


Figure 6. Model B1.2 testing the relation of EI factors to openness toward the use of force and priority assigned to acknowledging a driver's experience.

The overall fit of the initial model (Model B1) appeared acceptable (Table XI), but a look at modification indices suggested that co-varying the error terms between two of the items that made up the OUF factor might improve the model. Thus, Model B1.2 included an error covariance term between “Police officers are often in situations where it is more appropriate to use physical force than to keep on talking to a person,” (f1) and “Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way,” (f2). Because of the suspiciously small improvement

in AIC and BIC for Model B1.2, a likelihood ratio test was used to statistically compare the two models (with normal standard errors). This test suggested that including the covariance term did indeed improve the overall model ($\chi^2(1) = 9.87, p < 0.01$), even if just slightly. Thus, Model B1.2 was chosen as the final model from which to interpret the estimated parameters.

TABLE XI

FIT STATISTICS FOR MODELS B1 AND B1.2		
	Model B1 (n = 1053)	Model B1.2 (n = 1053)
X ² (df)	223.17*** (138)	213.31*** (137)
RMSEA	.024 [.018,.03]	.023 [.017, .029]
CFI	.977	.980
TLI	.972	.975
CD	.987	.987
AIC	29,570.115	29,562.248
BIC	29,922.165	29,919.257
*** = <.001		

The estimated parameters for the measurement portion of Model B1.2 are displayed in Table XII and the parameters for the structural portion can be found in Table XIII. A Wald test (Wald, 1943) for equation-level goodness of fit was performed for each endogenous outcome in the model and suggested that, except for peer ratings, coefficients were not all equal to zero for the equations of the endogenous outcomes. Additionally, every observed variable loaded significantly positively on its latent factor. For OUF, “Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way” (f2) and “Sometimes forceful police actions are very educational for civilians” (f3) loaded strongest on the factor ($\beta = .62, p < .01$) and ($\beta = .66, p < .01$). For ADE, “Let the driver tell his or her side of the story” (s2) loaded the strongest on the factor ($\beta = .86, p < .01$). The measurement of emotional self-awareness, emotional demeanor, and emotional knowledge about others (ESA, ED, and EKO) in the model again appeared to have performed well within the lines of the confirmatory factor analysis presented earlier. No substantive

differences in parameter estimates were observed when requesting normal versus robust standard errors.

TABLE XII

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR LATENT MEASUREMENT PORTION OF
MODEL B1.2

Latent	Observed	β^*	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ESA	a2	0.56	0.04	<.001	[0.45,0.65]
ESA	a3	0.80	0.04	<.001	[0.68,0.90]
ESA	a1	-	-	-	-
ESA	a4	0.44	0.04	<.001	[0.33,0.55]
ED	r1	0.52	0.05	<.001	[0.38,0.64]
ED	r2	0.66	0.04	<.001	[0.56,0.76]
ED	r3	0.56	0.05	<.001	[0.43,0.67]
ED	r4	-	-	-	-
EKO	k1	-	-	-	-
EKO	k2	0.77	0.04	<.001	[0.67,0.85]
EKO	k3	0.74	0.04	<.001	[0.64,0.83]
ADE	s1	-	-	-	-
ADE	s2	0.86	0.03	<.001	[0.79,0.92]
ADE	s3	0.79	0.03	<.001	[0.72,0.86]
OUF	f1	-	-	-	-
OUF	f2	0.62	0.04	<.001	[0.52,0.72]
OUF	f3	0.66	0.04	<.001	[0.55,0.75]
OUF	f4	0.54	0.04	<.001	[0.44,0.63]
Covariance					
ESA	e.a2,e.a4	0.46	0.04	<.001	[0.34,0.56]
ESA	e.a1,e.a4	0.20	0.07	<.001	[0.01,0.37]
OUF	e.f1,e.f2	0.16	0.05	<.001	[0.03,0.29]
	ED,EKO	0.57	0.05	<.001	[0.43,0.69]
	ED,ESA	0.24	0.06	<.001	[0.08,0.40]
	ESA,EKO	0.34	0.06	<.001	[0.19,0.48]
* Constrained coefficients not reported.					

Some of the EI factors were significantly related to one or more of the endogenous outcomes. Higher scores for emotional demeanor (ED) significantly increased the priority assigned to acknowledging a driver's experience during a traffic stop (ADE, $\beta = .27, p < .001$). Higher scores for emotional self-awareness (ESA) also significantly increased the priority assigned to acknowledging a driver's experience during a traffic stop (ADE; $\beta = .15, p < .001$). Emotional others knowledge (EKO) was not significantly associated with the priority assigned to acknowledging a driver's experience during a traffic stop (ADE, $p = .41$). Regarding openness toward the use of force (OUF), higher scores on emotional demeanor were significantly related to less OUF ($\beta = .29, p < .001$). Emotional self-awareness was not significantly related to openness toward the use of force (OUF; $p = .71$). Higher emotional knowledge about others (EKO) was not significantly related to openness toward the use of force (OUF) at the conservative $p = .01$ level, but at $p = .05$, it was significantly associated with *greater* OUF ($\beta = -.21, p < .001$). Normal standard errors also showed that this relationship was statistically significant ($p = .008$). Support for use of force (OUF) and priority given to acknowledging a driver's experience (ADE) did not significantly share any error covariance ($p = .40$). Finally, emotional demeanor (ED), emotional self-awareness (ESA), and emotional knowledge about others (EKO) were all not significantly related to peer ratings ($p > .40$).

TABLE XIII

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR STRUCTURAL PORTION OF MODEL B1.2

Exogenous	Endogenous	β	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ED	ADE	0.27*	0.07	<.001	[0.10,0.44]
EKO	ADE	-0.06	0.07	0.41	[-0.23,0.12]
ESA	ADE	0.15*	0.05	<.001	[0.02,0.27]
ED	OUF	0.29*	0.09	<.001	[0.06,0.51]
EKO	OUF	-0.21 [†]	0.09	0.02	[-0.44,0.03]
ESA	OUF	0.02	0.06	0.71	[-0.13,0.17]
ED	peer	-0.08	0.12	0.50	[-0.39,0.23]
EKO	peer	0.10	0.14	0.49	[-0.27,0.47]
ESA	peer	-0.09	0.11	0.40	[-0.36,0.18]
Covariance					
e.OUF,e.ADE		0.05	0.05	0.40	[-0.09,0.18]
[†] Statistically significant only at the p = .05 level.					

4.2.2 Model B2

The analysis testing hypothesis 2D was performed with a subset of the data used previously. This data specifically included community ratings of interactions with the officers in the sample (e.g. on empathy and respect). In total, the data for this analysis included ratings of 522 police encounters with community members in one city, including a total of 211 officers 20 to 55 years old ($M = 28$, $S.D. = 5.40$). The majority of the officers in the subsample were men (77.8%). The racial composition of the officers consisted of majority White officers (44.9%), followed by Hispanic/Latino (26.1%), Black/African-American (25.1%), Asian (3.4 %), and other (0.5%). Interaction types included both citizen-initiated (72.8%), and police initiated contacts (27.2%); these were a result of a community member reporting a crime (excluding sensitive crimes such as sexual assault or those involving children) and traffic/pedestrian stops by police. The majority of community respondents were Black/African-American (60.1%), followed by White (18.2%), Hispanic/Latino (15.8%), and Other (5.9%). Community respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 85 years ($M = 47$, $S.D. = 16.04$).

A final SEM (Model B2) was conducted to test hypothesis 2D) Officers who score higher on emotional intelligence will be rated by actual community members they interact with as being more respectful and empathetic than those who score lower on EI.⁸ Since the community ratings of empathy and respect are sometimes clustered within police officers (where an officer had more than one rated interaction), “clustered robust” standard errors with the cluster variable set to “officer” was specifically requested in Stata. This type of cluster adjusted robust standard error relaxes not only the multivariate normal assumption⁹, but also the assumption of the independence of the errors that would likely be false when community ratings are about the same officer (StataCorp, 2013). The total number of community ratings per officer ranged from 1 to 8, with the majority of the officers having one (32.7%) or two (28%) rated interactions ($M = 2.5$). Although many of the fit indices for Model B2 with FIML and clustered robust standard errors are not available in Stata when such options are selected, the AIC and BIC were still available with these options and as such are reported in Table XV. Furthermore, in order to help better assess the omnibus fit of the model, the RMSEA, CFI, and TLI are reported for Model B2 with *normal* versus *robust* standard errors requested from Stata (Table XV). As with the previous tests, the parameter estimates for normal versus robust errors were compared to observe any substantive differences between the two.

⁸ Correlations, means and standard deviations for all variables included in Model B2 can be found in Table XIV, Appendix.

⁹ Based on the Henze-Zirkler multivariate normality test.

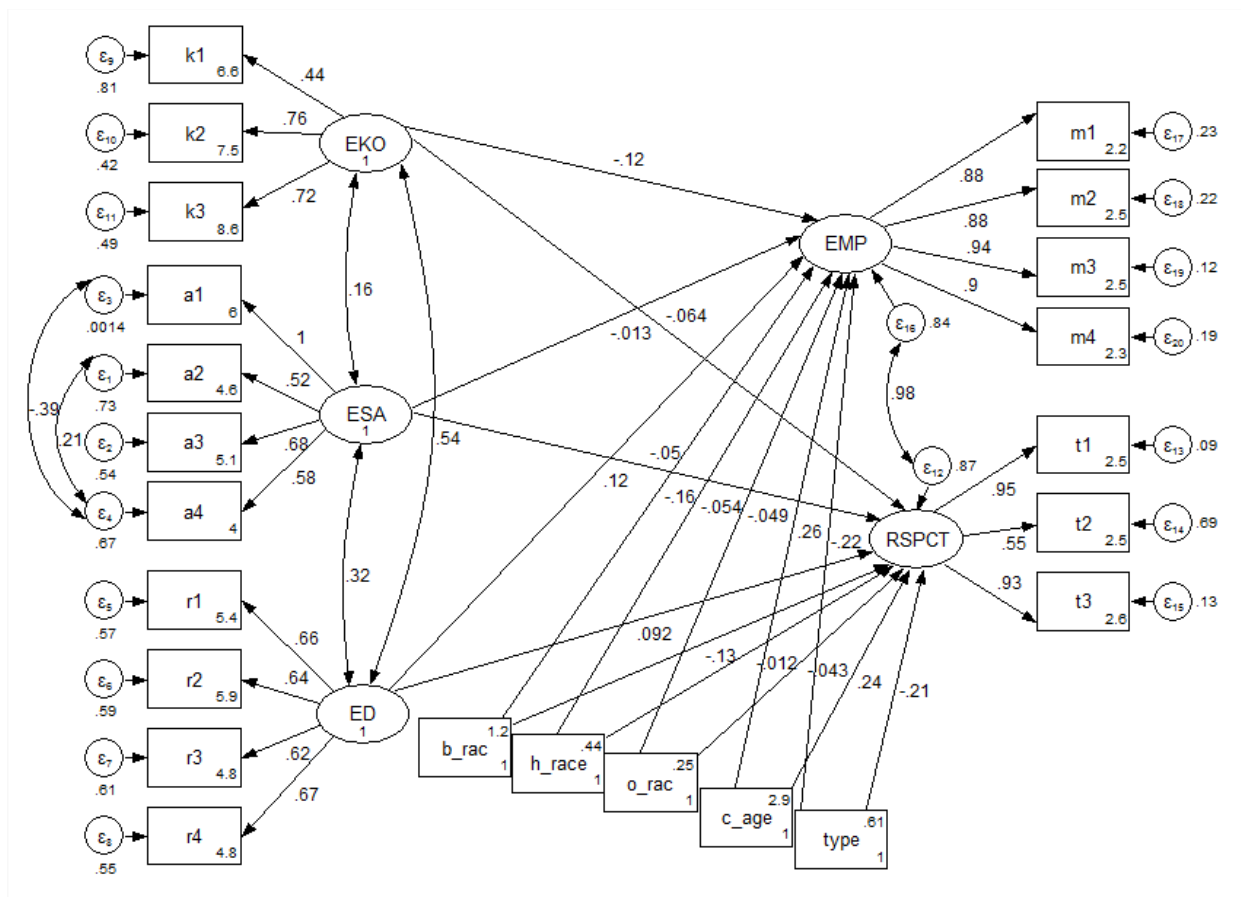


Figure 7. Model B2 diagram

Overall, the fit of the model under normal standard errors appeared acceptable with an RMSEA below .05, a CFI above .95, and a TLI above .95. An examination of modification indices revealed no substantial and theoretically defensible covariances to add to the model to improve model fit. Furthermore, a Wald test (Wald, 1943) for equation-level goodness of fit was performed for each endogenous outcome in the model and showed that coefficients were not all equal to zero for any equations of the endogenous outcomes.

TABLE XV**FIT STATISTICS FOR MODEL B2**

	Model B2 (n = 522)
X ² (df)	320.074 (203)***
RMSEA	.033 [.026,.040]
CFI	.974
TLI	.969
CD	1.00
AIC	17727.991
BIC	18136.727
*** $p < .001$	

Parameter estimates for the measurement portion of Model B2 are displayed in Table XVI, while parameters for the structural portion of Model B2 are displayed in Table XVII. The measurement results echoed the findings of earlier tests regarding the EI constructs, with the exception of non-significant positive covariances between emotional self-awareness (ESA) and emotional demeanor (ED), ($\beta = .32, p = .10$), and emotional self-awareness (ESA) and emotional knowledge about others (EKO), ($\beta = .16, p = .18$). Respect and empathy items all loaded highly on their latent factors. Thus, the respect and empathy latent factor structures tested were confirmed. There were two substantive differences in significance between normal and robust standard errors for the measurement portion of the model¹⁰. Mainly, with normal standard errors the positive covariance between emotional self-awareness (ESA) and emotional demeanor (ED) was significant ($p < .001$) and the positive covariance between emotional self-awareness (ESA) and emotional knowledge about others (EKO) just reached significance ($p = .01$), given the conservative significance level set.

¹⁰ The standards errors in Model B2 were adjusted for 211 clusters of officers.

TABLE XVI

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR LATENT MEASUREMENT PORTION OF
MODEL B2

Latent	Observed	β^*	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ESA	a2	-	-	-	-
ESA	a3	0.68	0.11	<.001	[0.39,0.97]
ESA	a1	1.00	0.07	<.001	[0.83,1.17]
ESA	a4	0.58	0.12	<.001	[0.28,0.88]
ED	r1	-	-	-	-
ED	r2	0.64	0.08	<.001	[0.42,0.86]
ED	r3	0.62	0.11	<.001	[0.33,0.91]
ED	r4	0.67	0.08	<.001	[0.45,0.89]
EKO	k1	-	-	-	-
EKO	k2	0.76	0.14	<.001	[0.40,1.12]
EKO	k3	0.72	0.13	<.001	[0.39,1.04]
Respect	t1	-	-	-	-
Respect	t2	0.55	0.05	<.001	[0.44,0.67]
Respect	t3	0.93	0.01	<.001	[0.90,0.97]
Empathy	m1	-	-	-	-
Empathy	m2	0.88	0.02	<.001	[0.83,0.94]
Empathy	m3	0.94	0.01	<.001	[0.91,0.97]
Empathy	m4	0.90	0.01	<.001	[0.87,0.93]
Covariance					
ESA	e.a2,e.a4	0.21	0.13	0.11	[-0.12,0.54]
ESA	e.a1,e.a4	-0.39	20.34	0.99	[-52.79,52.01]
	ESA,ED	0.32	0.19	0.10	[-0.18,0.81]
	ESA,EKO	0.16	0.12	0.18	[-0.14,0.46]
	ED,EKO	0.54	0.13	<.001	[0.19,0.88]
* Constrained coefficients not reported.					

Results for the structural (path) part of the final model for Question 2 assessed the relationship between EI and community ratings about police officers while controlling for the influence of established predictors of interaction ratings. Notably, a large covariance between respect and empathy was significantly positive in the model ($\beta = .98, p < .01$). Known predictors of police interaction ratings were all significantly related to both empathy and respect. Ratings of respect were significantly lower when the community member was Black/African-American compared to when the community member was White ($\beta = -0.13, p < .01$). This same relationship existed regarding empathy ($\beta = -0.16, p < .01$). However, being Hispanic/Latino, or any other race was not significantly related to either outcome. The age of the community member was significantly positively related to respect ($\beta = .24, p < .01$) and empathy ($\beta = .26, p < .01$). Officer-initiated encounters were perceived as significantly lower in respect ($\beta = -.21, p < .01$) and empathy ($\beta = -.22, p < .01$) than citizen-initiated encounters. Finally, while controlling for the type of interaction and the age/race of community members, emotional self-awareness (ESA), emotional demeanor (ED), and emotional knowledge about others (EKO) were not significantly related to either respect or empathy ratings at the $p = .01$ level (Table XVII).

TABLE XVII

STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS FOR STRUCTURAL PORTION OF MODEL B2

Exogenous	Endogenous	β	SE (Robust)	Sig.	99% C.I.
ESA	Respect	-0.05	0.07	0.47	[-0.23,0.13]
ED	Respect	0.09	0.08	0.27	[-0.12,0.31]
EKO	Respect	-0.06	0.06	0.32	[-0.23,0.10]
b_rac	Respect	-0.13*	0.05	< .01	[-0.26,-0.01]
h_rac	Respect	-0.01	0.05	0.82	[-0.15,0.12]
o_rac	Respect	-0.04	0.04	0.33	[-0.16,0.07]
c_age	Respect	0.24*	0.05	<.01	[0.12,0.36]
type	Respect	-0.21*	0.05	<.01	[-0.33,-0.09]
ESA	Empathy	-0.01	0.07	0.85	[-0.19,0.17]
ED	Empathy	0.12	0.09	0.16	[-0.10,0.35]
EKO	Empathy	-0.12	0.06	0.07	[-0.28,0.05]
b_rac	Empathy	-0.16*	0.05	<.01	[-0.29,-0.03]
h_rac	Empathy	-0.05	0.05	0.28	[-0.18,0.07]
o_rac	Empathy	-0.05	0.05	0.30	[-0.17,0.07]
c_age	Empathy	0.26*	0.05	<.01	[0.14,0.38]
type	Empathy	-0.22*	0.05	<.01	[-0.34,-0.10]
Covariance					
e.Respect,e.Empathy		0.98*	0.01	<.01	[0.95,1.00]
b_rac,c_age		0.17*	0.05	<.01	[0.06,0.29]
b_rac,type		-0.11 [†]	0.05	0.02	[-0.23,0.01]
h_rac,c_age		-0.24*	0.04	<.01	[-0.34,-0.13]
h_rac,type		0.21*	0.05	<.01	[0.08,0.34]
o_rac,c_age		-0.10 [†]	0.05	0.04	[-0.23,0.03]
o_rac,type		-0.05	0.04	0.20	[-0.16,0.05]
c_age,type		-0.23*	0.04	<.01	[-0.34,-0.12]

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Emotional Intelligence Measurement Model

Each SEM model analyzed confirmed the measurement of the latent factors emotional self-awareness (ESA), emotional knowledge about others (EKO), and emotional demeanor (ED) and provided evidence that these elements of EI are discernible in the current sample of police officers. Recall that the measurement of these constructs was tested initially in a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; outlined in the section on measures). The factor loadings of the EI factors were similar in size and pattern in each SEM that followed.

EI theory proposes that there are at least four broad domains of EI that are interrelated such that more complex emotional abilities, like managing other people's emotions or being able to change one's own emotions, build upon arguably more simple abilities such as perceiving emotion in faces or being aware of one's own emotions. The correlations between the three latent EI constructs in the two SEM models analyzed were similar to those seen in the confirmatory factor analysis, revealing that emotional self-awareness (ESA), emotional knowledge about others (EKO), and emotional demeanor (ED) were all positively interrelated in a way that EI theory would predict. In the CFA, the latent constructs emotional knowledge about others and emotional demeanor had a substantially larger correlation with each other (.71) than they did with emotional self-awareness (.28, and .16, respectively). The same pattern showed up in later tests, but was at times less apparent. For example, there was some evidence that the reduced number of cases utilized for the last model (testing the relationship of EI with empathy and respect) resulted in a less stable latent factor structure. This model (Model B2) did not have enough power to detect the covariances between some of the EI factors when requesting robust standard errors and accounting for the clustered nature of the data. In that model, the covariances

were not statistically significant unless requesting *normal* standard errors, which were of course a less strict test of statistical significance.

The observed pattern of the covariances between EI factors could be expected based on the wording of the questions and the theory behind the constructs themselves. Mainly, both emotional knowledge about others (EKO) and emotional demeanor (ED) involved items that asked officers about emotional abilities related to *other* people (i.e. *inter*-personal skills as opposed to *intra*-personal skills), thus these two factors were more strongly related to each other than emotional self-awareness (ESA) was with either of them. Carefully listening, remaining calm, and being empathetic in interactions with other people is logically related to being able to read other people's emotions, make people comfortable, and resolve conflict between people. While EI theory would theoretically link emotional self-awareness to the ability to manage emotions, which in turn could facilitate the ability to remain calm, empathize and manage other people's emotions, the wording of the items making up the emotional self-awareness factor (ESA) referred narrowly to perceiving emotion in oneself, not necessarily managing it. Thus, its relative theoretical distance from actual emotional demeanor and knowledge about other people's emotions would explain the weaker (but still significant) correlation of emotional self-awareness with those two factors.

These types of distinctions actually turn out to be an important caveat in theories and research about EI. For example, Petrides and colleagues (2016) recognized the detriment of utilizing any omnibus measure of EI because the associated emotional skills in reality could have differential relationships with measured outcomes depending on the context, and furthermore that, in theory, EI is fundamentally expected to be a multidimensional construct. Others have

come to similar conclusions in the past, specifically suggesting that the application of EI in practice could easily vary depending on the context (Tett & Fox, 2006).

5.2 Recruit Characteristics and Emotional Intelligence

The SEM Model A1.3 tested the hypotheses 1A) Recruits who report being an officer previously will score higher on emotional knowledge about others (EKO), 1B) Older recruits will score higher on emotional knowledge about others (EKO), 1C) Female recruits will score higher on emotional self-awareness (ESA) than male recruits, and 1D) Recruits who say they are more comfortable interacting with strangers will score higher on emotional knowledge about others (EKO). Though no specific hypotheses involved emotional demeanor, it was still included in the SEM since it was part of the stable measurement model tested in the CFA. Paths from the recruit characteristics to *all* EI constructs, including emotional demeanor, were added since EI is multidimensional and theory would predict that many of the factors that are related to one factor might be related in some degree to the others.

The analysis of Model A1.3 did not support hypothesis 1A. There was no significant relationship between previously being an officer and emotional knowledge about others, which fell under the “Understanding and analyzing emotions and employing emotional knowledge” EI dimension. In fact, previously being an officer was not significantly related to any of the factors of EI tested, suggesting that previously being an officer was not indicative of higher EI when controlling for other variables. Hypothesis 1B was also not supported. There was no significant relationship between a recruit’s age and any of the elements of EI, suggesting that after accounting for other variables, older recruits had not somehow acquired greater emotional skills and abilities simply as a result of aging and general life experience.

Reasonable assumptions and past research would suggest that experience in dealing with people and their emotions is related to greater knowledge of how to do such a task in the future (Bowers, 2014; Cahill & Eggleston, 1994). However, the mechanisms involved when an individual learns and, most importantly, *retains* such knowledge during their experiences are unknown. For example, a job as a police officer may require emotional labor, but the specific tasks one is responsible for and the objectives that are valued by the organization and one's colleagues would influence the knowledge and skills retained in the end. Likewise, within a group of police recruits the environment in which each individual develops throughout life (i.e. as they age) varies substantially over time *and* between individuals and therefore could offer different social/cultural experiences related to emotions as one ages. Alternatively, since the police officers analyzed as part of the sample were all surveyed around the same time they were in the training academy, which is utilized mostly for younger, new officers, the relative influence of age or previous policing experience on EI factors may have gone undetected. Consider that on average, officers were about 28 years old, with a median age of 27 and that only about 10% of officers reported having previously been an officer. Together though, the results for hypotheses 1A and 1B suggest that instead of aging and job experience there may be more specific and impactful experiences throughout the aging process and within the job environment that influence the elements of EI measured here. In fact, the results of this analysis suggest that gender might be one such broad influence on EI, or at least the emotional self-awareness aspect measured here. More specifically, the results show that being a male officer significantly reduced a recruit's reported emotional self-awareness (ESA), meaning of course that female recruits reported higher ESA. Thus, hypothesis 1C was supported in Model 1.3. Recruit gender did not

significantly impact reported knowledge about other people's emotions or emotional demeanor though.

Some theories argue that emotions are more evolutionarily adaptive for women than they are for men (Babchuk, Hames, & Thompson, 1985). Others suggest that the accuracy of such a claim depends on whether the emotion is a "threatening" one (see Hampson, van Anders, & Mullin, 2006). Anthropological, psychological, and sociological arguments suggest cultural, social and developmental biases in child-rearing and human relationships are responsible for observable differences in emotional valuing and functioning (Brody, 1985; Chaplin, 2015). Additionally, empirical research has shown in the past that women have a real advantage over men regarding recognizing emotion (Collignon et al., 2010; Hampson et al., 2006). Thus, regardless of the cause, most scholars acknowledge that there are recognizable differences in the way that emotions relate to women and men in society. The results from the current analysis are partially in line with this realization, but also seem to suggest that even if women police recruits are more aware of their emotions and the reasons for them (due to biology, cultural norms, social conditioning, etc.), their emotional demeanor and knowledge about other people's emotions may be on the same level as men.

In many ways women are generally expected to be more in tune to their emotions (and others') than men. This turns out to be mostly true for the women in the current sample. Through the lens of EI this characteristic could easily be viewed as an advantage personally and socially, but cultural biases against women can sometimes be based on the exaggerated notion that women are "*overly* attuned to emotions" or "*overly* emotional" and therefore unable to make sensible, rational decisions. Similarly, emotional self-awareness in officers could theoretically serve as a pre-cursor to better emotion management, but in policing, acknowledging and/or discussing

emotions can be seen as “overly emotional” or “soft” and is likely an even stronger disqualification from group membership than it would be in other contexts. Informally and formally officers are expected to exemplify someone “in control” (Howard, Tuffin, & Stephens, 2000), whether that refers to control over themselves in their personal or police life or control over others in a police encounter. Depending on how the concept of this dominant “command presence” is interpreted and defined by an officer’s police agency and his or her colleagues, it could ultimately be at odds with the emotional awareness, understanding and demeanor necessary for the service aspects of policing. In turn, this could de-incentivize attempts to embrace emotions in police work, which would work against goals of community policing initiatives, crisis intervention training, procedural justice, etc. It is not difficult to see how these issues could particularly impact women in policing. The difference in emotional self-awareness between women and men suggests there may be some differences in the way that women and men in policing think about their emotions, with women perceiving and thinking about their own more often. Within the themes of masculinity, command presence, dominance, control and compliance in police environments, such a finding could have consequences for how women and men separately adjust their use, management and expression of emotion within the organization and on the job.

The similarity found between men and women in emotional knowledge about others and emotional demeanor here could reflect a reality that emotions relate to women and men differently only on specific dimensions. On the other hand, the similarity between women and men could be due to self-selection into the policing profession or an effect of training as a group. A supplemental examination of pre-academy items suggested training together was not a factor – it did not significantly change the relation of gender to emotional self-awareness, emotional

demeanor, or emotional knowledge about others. Still, women who choose to pursue a career as a police officer could be more similar to their male counterparts than women generally, and furthermore may be different than women who choose other types of careers that involve interaction with the public and emotional labor. Overall, the results of the current analysis provide evidence for the idea that male and female officers are similar on EI dimensions in a variety of ways, but that they differ in other ways too.

Lastly, hypothesis 1D was supported by the analysis. Recruits who were more comfortable interacting with strangers (particularly people they do not know) reported significantly higher EI on all three factors measured, especially regarding emotional demeanor and emotional knowledge about others. This finding could be interpreted, in line with the hypothesis, as evidence that individuals reporting discomfort in their interactions with strangers are less likely to learn to recognize emotions in other people and express the appropriate emotional demeanor to manage the emotional experience of another person in an interaction. This effect would theoretically be due to avoidance and other maladaptive emotion management strategies that might become socially detrimental habits and reduce opportunities to learn new skills related to EI. Past research on social anxiety provides some support for this view, explaining that socially anxious people utilizing suppression-related emotion management tend to address their own emotional needs rather than the emotional needs of others in interactions (Gross, 2002). However, whereas some of the relationships examined in this study are clearly unidirectional, like that between gender and emotional self-awareness, critical readers could reasonably question the direction modeled between comfort in interactions and EI. For example, does the list of the causal components thought to be related to social anxiety, such as negative attentional bias (Schmidt, Richey, Buckner, & Timpano, 2009) or low body-esteem (Abdollahi &

Talib, 2015), truly not include EI? Or put more simply, are socially anxious people a result of low EI? Furthermore, could the relationship in fact be bidirectional? In this paper, I hypothesized that comfort interacting with strangers was related to EI under the assumption that social anxiety is an actual disability that results from factors outside of EI. For instance, one could not easily claim that low EI leads to Autism or Asperger's, even though EI scores could possibly be used to diagnose or assess the two. Admittedly, it could be argued that "comfort/discomfort in interactions with strangers" as measured here does not necessarily indicate as strong a disability as "social anxiety." To test this assumption an alternative model where comfort was specified as an endogenous latent outcome of all three EI factors was compared to Model A1.3. This alternative model fit just as well as Model A1.3, and the relationships between comfort and the three EI factors were similar to those seen in the original model except that emotional self-awareness was not significantly related to comfort. Additionally, to test the idea of bi-directionality, another alternative model where comfort was specified as an endogenous latent outcome of age, gender, and experience and co-varied with ED, EKO, and ESA was compared to Model A1.3. This model also fit the data just as well as Model A1.3, and all relationships between comfort and the three EI components were similar to those seen in the original model.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to clarify questions about strict causality between reported comfort in interactions with strangers and EI factors with the present data, especially given their cross-sectional nature. Still, under any of the possible assumptions, the results suggest that EI and comfort in interactions with strangers are positively linked in a significant way. Since certain dimensions of personality like neuroticism and extraversion have been found to be correlated with EI in the past (Joseph & Newman, 2010), it is perhaps not surprising that a person's level of comfort with stranger interactions, as a likely correlate of extraversion, was

significantly associated with every aspect of EI measured here. Additionally, it is not surprising that comfort with stranger interactions was more strongly associated with knowledge about other people's emotions and one's emotional demeanor than it was with emotional self-awareness since, as discussed earlier, knowledge about other people's emotions and one's emotional demeanor both referred to emotion in terms of other people instead of the self.

5.3 Emotional Intelligence and Priority Given to Acknowledging Drivers' Experience

The results of the analysis of SEM Model B1.2 partially supported hypothesis 2A. Two of the EI factors were significantly related to the reported priority that officers gave to acknowledging a drivers experience (i.e. acknowledging feelings, letting the driver tell their side of the story, and answering questions). First, EKO was *not* significantly related to ADE, meaning that officers who reported increased knowledge about other people's emotions did not consider acknowledging a driver's experience in a traffic stop a higher or lower priority than other officers. Second, ESA was significantly positively related to ADE. This result shows that officers who reported higher emotional self-awareness considered acknowledging the experience of drivers in traffic stops a higher priority than those who reported lower emotional self-awareness. Finally, ED was also significantly positively related to ADE, meaning officers who more strongly identified with a calm, empathetic emotional demeanor also considered acknowledging the experience of drivers in traffic stops a higher priority than those who identified less strongly with this type of demeanor.

An individual's experience of being stopped by police in traffic can spark frustration, anger, fear, and a number of other feelings. The way they are then treated by an officer can significantly impact their views about the encounter, the officer, and even the legitimacy of police generally. Police officers should recognize this and be willing to acknowledge the

experience of the people they interact with in the community. An important piece of this process involves giving people a voice (a foundation of procedural justice), answering their questions, and conveying an understanding of the emotions they feel. Officers who reported higher emotional self-awareness or more strongly identified with an open, calm, empathetic demeanor appeared to understand the value of these actions more so than their counterparts. Being able to perceive and think about the reason for one's own emotions may in the end make officers generally more aware of how important and influential a person's emotions can be in a traffic stop encounter. Additionally, if one reports an open, calm, empathic demeanor it likely serves the purpose of avoiding direct confrontation, gaining information about the emotional experience of another person and addressing the expressed needs of that person.

Finally, although unexpected, it seems that reported knowledge about others' emotions (i.e. perceiving emotion, making people comfortable or resolving conflict) is unrelated to prioritizing the acknowledgement of a driver's experience. In the end, reported knowledge about other people's emotions may actually be representative of a greater innate knowledge and ability regarding reading people that, in officer's eyes, does not necessarily require specific action (e.g. the acknowledgement of emotions). This interpretation should become clearer after the following discussion regarding emotional knowledge about others and its relationship with attitudes toward the use of force.

5.4 Emotional Intelligence and Openness toward the Use of Force

The results of the analysis of SEM Model B1.2 partially supported hypothesis 2B. Two of the EI factors were significantly related to officer attitudes toward the use of force (i.e. a view that officers are often in situations where it is more appropriate to use physical force than to keep on talking to a person, that some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way,

that sometimes force is “very educational” for civilians, and that the absence of physical displays of toughness will be seen as weak). However, the significance of one factor (EKO) was conditional on a more liberal interpretation of statistical significance than that set originally.

First, ESA was *not* significantly related to OUF. This suggests that officers reporting higher emotional self-awareness did not necessarily think differently about the appropriateness and utility of using force than other officers. Second, ED was significantly positively related to less OUF. Thus, officers who more strongly identified with a calm, empathetic emotional demeanor felt that the use of force was less appropriate and useful than officers who did not identify as strongly with such a demeanor. Finally, EKO was significantly positively related to greater OUF (at the $p = .05$ level). Thus, officers who reported increased knowledge about other people’s emotions actually felt that use of force was *more* appropriate and useful than other officers.

Using force on individuals is preferably a last resort for police officers, not only because it risks injury to both community members and officers (or death in the case of deadly force), but also because its use could easily be the largest contributor to feelings of disrespect and unfairness, which can ultimately impact trust from the community, future cooperation, and police legitimacy. Other methods to gain cooperation that are based on mutual understanding, negotiation or persuasion are less likely to result in injury and are more in line with values of fairness, respect, and trust. This is the position behind approaches such as “verbal judo” (Thompson & Jenkins, 2013) and crisis intervention training, which suggest that dealing appropriately with people in crisis requires sufficient background knowledge and an attention to specific behaviors, emotional content, and possible motivations. Of course, in policing there will be situations where the use of force is unavoidable. The crucial question is what situational

characteristics truly call for such action? Police agencies typically have a policy on when the use of force is appropriate and a majority of them formally advise officers on this policy through a use-of-force continuum of some sort (Terrill & Paoline, 2013). However, because police officers are privileged with a level of subjective discretion, those who are more open to the use of force prior to an interaction may be quicker to interpret a given situation as a candidate for the use of force following any continuum. Thus, understanding and possibly addressing views about force *before* a controversial instance of using force should be part of the larger process of improving police-community interactions.

The results of this analysis show that identifying with an open, calm, empathetic demeanor results in officers being less open to the use of force, such that they see it as less appropriate and useful generally. Using force to control someone would be a direct contradiction to listening to someone, remaining calm and patient, and being empathetic. However, this finding does not have to be interpreted as less willingness to use force when it is unavoidable. Officers who scored higher on emotional demeanor (an emotionally intelligent display), might merely see the use of force as beneficial only when it is absolutely necessary (i.e. a last resort when the individual is non-compliant with commands or an immediate threat to safety). In other words, they could be less likely to interpret a situation as an opportunity to use force or less likely to normalize the use of force as part of their job, status, or identity. Inversely, those who rate the use of force as especially useful, commonplace, or desirable for status (e.g. “Some people can only be brought to reason the hard, physical way”, or “The absence of physical displays of toughness will be seen as weak”) might be more inclined, or perhaps prefer, to fall back on the use of force more frequently in interactions. This is an open empirical question

requiring further study though since these officers could be more open to the use of force only in certain situations, such as in certain neighborhoods as reported by Pew (Morin et al., 2017).

Interestingly, the results of this analysis suggest that officers who report a greater knowledge about other people's emotions might also be the officers who find the use of force most appropriate and useful, though it should be noted this finding was contingent on a slightly more liberal statistical interpretation. The difficulty in explaining the possibility of such a relationship comes in the fact that each of the measured EI factors were significantly correlated with each other and as part of EI are theoretically supposed to support more productive, empathetic and considerate social interaction together. As has been established earlier though, policing is a unique context that involves police-community interactions that are unlike many social interactions in most aspects of life. In order to be a police officer one must learn how to operate in such a unique environment.

One way to explain the finding regarding emotional knowledge about others (EKO) is that officers reporting higher EKO may be adept (or at least report being adept) at recognizing the threat of anger, harm, and ill-will and see the use of force as a useful and valuable tool in resolving conflict resulting from threatening emotions, motivations and behavior. After all, the use of force is a necessary tool for police officers, who tend to be in situations requiring physical intervention more often than the average civilian. Furthermore, from the perspective of an officer, "EKO" as measured here may actually reflect a broader ability to "read people." Since policing consists of interacting with both threatening and non-threatening individuals during law enforcement and service activities, a well-tuned ability to read people (even the threatening ones) means an officer also probably has confidence in their ability to make people comfortable, even

if the knowledge about other people's emotions they possess is applied in different contexts (threat vs. non-threat, or safety vs. service).

Finally, officers who reported greater emotional self-awareness did not seem to think any differently than other officers about the appropriateness and utility of using force. Whereas the use of force may be a direct contradiction in the case of reporting a more emotionally intelligent emotional demeanor, or an indication of an officer's ability to read people, identify threat, and resolve conflict in the case of emotional knowledge about others, emotional self-awareness might not be as directly linked to views about using force on the job since the factor is focused on the ability to notice and think about one's own emotions. Such intrapersonal reflection may not have meaningful implications when one considers other attitudes and motivations police may have for using force. For example, ideas about the trustworthiness of the community (or an individual community member), the likelihood of their cooperation, actual resistance or hostility, and the usual emotional demeanor of an officer, are more conceptually linked with the justifications and preference for using force versus not.

5.5 Emotional Intelligence and Peer Ratings

The analysis of SEM Model B1.2 also examined hypothesis 2C, which was not supported. None of the three measured elements of self-reported EI were significantly related to the ratings that officers received from peers. Based on previous examinations of EI's correlation with peer relationships outside of the policing context, it was expected that officers reporting higher EI would receive higher ratings from their peers because of the existence of more positive relationships with colleagues than officers lower in EI. It turns out this relationship did not exist in this sample of police officers.

The mechanism that theoretically links EI to the quality of peer relationships in most contexts is the ability to connect and bond with people through a mutual understanding that is facilitated by emotion. Within policing, part of connecting socially and bonding as a group is achieved through formal training, informal social narratives, and shared experiences unique to police officers. Over time, these things produce a level of mutual understanding among officers about policing through interaction and observation. In other words, what is recognized as a shared value or belief becomes part of officers' "narrative" about policing. Past qualitative research on officer narratives of emotionality in policing has suggested that even if the general importance of experiencing and expressing emotions is recognized by officers, in practice feelings are not typically discussed among officers because doing so risks raising concerns about their competence, particularly their ability to be in control and think rationally (Howard et al., 2000; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991). Instead, emotional talk tends to only happen between specific individuals and in certain contexts. For example, emotion talk can occur when there is a high level of trust that a particular individual will keep an emotional disclosure private or when humor can serve as safe way to address emotions (Howard et al., 2000). This dynamic would limit the ability and frequency with which one connects with peers on an emotional level and make even casual references to one's feelings reflect negatively on an officer's competency. For example, with the use of humor an officer may be expressing feelings or seeking emotional support in a contextually appropriate way (i.e. indirectly), but this still has the potential to reflect poorly on an officer's ability to be in control of their emotions in their work.

Factors other than an officer's ability to recognize, understand and manage emotion may have a greater observable impact on peer ratings in this context because of the traditional emphasis placed on physical and mental (i.e. rational) prowess. Of course, EI could still be

meaningfully related to an officer's relationship with peers in more open and frank interactions with select, trusted co-workers and friends, or perhaps via their ability to "fit in" with officers by recognizing and adhering to rules about how *not* to address emotion. Regarding the officers in the present sample, despite sharing the training academy experience, officers are still new and thus might not be as closely bonded as groups of officers who have worked together in the field for many years. These new officers have had less opportunity to develop trusting and meaningful relationships with their peers. At this stage of their career, any broadly defined peer rating about an officer, such as the measure used here, may be more related to how competent that officer is at *traditional* policing tasks than how competent they are at dealing with emotions, mainly due to the emphasis in policing training on rationality, control and technical skill.

5.6 Emotional Intelligence and Interaction Ratings

Based on a theoretical link between procedural justice, emotional labor and EI, and the claims of EI theory about its association with social interaction and interpersonal relationships, hypothesis 2D was that one or more of the examined EI factors would be significantly positively related to how an officer was rated by interaction partners in the community. The results of a final SEM, presented as Model B2, did not support the hypothesis. None of the three measured elements of self-reported EI abilities were significantly related to community ratings. Specifically, the degree to which officers identified with an open, calm, empathetic demeanor, reported emotional self-awareness, or reported knowledge about emotional people was not significantly related to how empathetic or respectful they were perceived to be by the community members they interacted with.

Past research has established that emotional labor is a de facto part of police work, particularly considering the tragedy and danger that officers often encounter on the job. In high

stakes situations involving human crisis, hostility, violence, victimization, and death, an officer's lack of ability to navigate the emotional environment can be readily apparent in the way they deal with suspects, witnesses, victims, and their own internal distress. Emotional intelligence may be especially relevant in these contexts. However, officers also often have more routine encounters that perhaps require a different level of emotional labor and emotional intelligence. Many of these encounters can lean heavily towards the service side of policing and require emotional labor that is more in line with customer service ideals that seek to generate emotional products such as happiness, satisfaction and respect. This service aspect of policing is often undervalued, but the suggestion found in procedural justice research is that even routine or service types of encounters should still be held to a high standard because the overall legitimacy of the police in part hinges on the ability to produce quality interactions across all contexts. Emotional intelligence should be an important asset in this kind of emotional labor too. However, in the current sample of community individuals who were stopped by police in traffic or on foot or reported a crime, the aspects of emotional intelligence that were measured did not seem to be significantly related to the production of feelings of being respected, or to perceptions of empathy. It should be noted though that certain sensitive crime reports, such as those involving sexual assault or children, were excluded in the sampling methodology for this study. Admittedly, perceptions of empathy and respect are only two outcomes of the included interactions, but since they deal closely with community perceptions of emotional understanding and the acknowledgement of their experience, they were a reasonable starting point to examine the potential impact of EI. Interestingly, the findings could be interpreted as evidence that perhaps emotional intelligence is not as necessary as one would think in displaying empathy and making individuals feel respected in certain routine police encounters, though at this point a

future follow-up study seems warranted because of the unique characteristics of the community sample providing empathy and respect ratings and some of the limitations of the study discussed later.

A multitude of factors can impact the conclusions that community members draw about the quality of police-community interactions. In the analysis detailed above, a few of the most consistent predictors of interaction perceptions were included and controlled for. The interaction type (officer initiated versus citizen initiated) was included in the analysis because it is intrinsically related to the nature of a police interaction, such that that being involuntarily stopped by the police comes with connotations that differ from situations where a community member initiates an interaction with an officer. Specifically, an involuntary stop limits the autonomy of an individual and can result in a number of undesirable outcomes (e.g. ticket, fine, or arrest). Two demographic variables, race and age, were also included in the analysis. Race and age are consistently linked to how individuals view their interactions with officers (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Lai, 2013), likely due to their association with certain pre-existing attitudes resulting from cultural affiliations, group values, shared spaces, status in society, and prior experiences with police. In the current analysis, these known factors turned out to be influential in how individuals perceived empathy and respect in their encounter. Officer-initiated interactions of course left individuals feeling like they received less respect and empathy than when the interaction was community-initiated. Furthermore, being Black/African-American and younger were associated with perceiving less respect and empathy, a particularly important finding considering the racial composition of the overall community sample (60.1% African-American). The reason a police interaction occurs and the demographic characteristics of a community member are inflexible elements of police encounters, but such variables are typically

informative because they point to the context of an interaction. In fact, such factors often strongly define the context for police encounters and in the end could override any contribution of EI to positive perceptions about an encounter. For example, prior research has often shown not only less positive views of the police among African-Americans and Latinos, but also that such pre-existing attitudes and experiences could bias evaluations of future encounters with the police (Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

6. IMPLICATIONS

6.1 The Science of Emotional Intelligence

The results of this study help to clarify what individual characteristics and experiences are related to differences in EI, and indicate what those differences might mean in contexts like policing. Here, emotional self-awareness was higher in female police officers than male officers, but there were no apparent differences between women and men regarding emotionally intelligent demeanor or their knowledge about other people's emotions. EI theory should recognize that expectations about how to feel can vary culturally along gender lines, and that this could be a driving mechanism behind differences in EI observed between women and men. Mainly, thinking about or effectively working with emotion may be more culturally expected and acceptable for women/girls than men/boys, even though its benefits to relationships could reach across gender lines and have a positive impact on everyone. Along these lines, any individual characteristic expected to be a predictor of EI in the future should first be considered a particularly strong indicator of a social group that experiences emotions in a unique way. For instance, older individuals did not report emotional self-awareness, demeanor or knowledge any differently than younger individuals in this study, likely because within any group of older people there is significant variation in their experiences related to emotion. Additionally, it turns out that past exposure to a job that generally requires emotional labor is not necessarily related to the development of EI. Instead, the work tasks one is actually responsible for, the culture of the organization, and the social environment probably lead to significant variation within emotionally laborious jobs.

The results of this study also have implications for the *impact* of EI in the workplace. Attitudes and beliefs about how to treat customers or clients (in this case, civilians), appear to be

related to certain aspects of EI. Mainly, the ability to actively listen, remain calm, and empathize with people is related to attitudes that align with customer service expectations and the ideals of procedural justice. Additionally, having greater awareness about one's own emotions relates to valuing those of others. However, some of the results also point to the importance of the unique policing environment. For example, the organizational expectations and socialization of officers requires them to be open to using physical coercion on people they deem dangerous, harmful, or uncooperative. Thus, when officers reported increased knowledge about other people's emotions it may also have meant they feel the best way to handle some people's emotions is via the use of force because these people can "only be brought to reason the hard way." The results also imply that the impact of EI in environments like policing may be limited when it comes to the actual quality of certain types of workplace relationships and community interactions. For instance, an officer's emotional self-awareness, emotional display, and emotional knowledge about others did not seem to change the way they were perceived by peers or the community members they interacted with. Maybe the way that officers connect with peers and serve members of the community is only related to the measured elements of EI under specific circumstances, or in an indirect way (through mediation). Alternatively, maybe officers do not actually implement their reported EI skills because they are not necessarily required in the instances studied. For example, short, impersonal, one-time interactions do not necessarily provide the best opportunities to observe the impact of EI. Finally, it is also possible that other factors related to the context of the encounter (e.g. pre-existing attitudes toward the police, reason for the stop) overshadowed the proposed positive influence of EI on perceptions. Overall, the broad implication for EI theory is that the environmental details that can dictate how EI is developed and employed, and whether it is effective, should be better identified. Combined with future work along these lines, the above

knowledge could help refine EI theory further and explain the development and implementation of social skills, particularly as they relate to dealing with emotions.

6.1.1 The Nuance of Multidimensionality

Assessing EI as a multi-dimensional construct and adhering to its original scope arguably provided a truer (and stricter) test of EI than if it was treated as a broader “cure-all” for employee performance and success. The approach utilized here sought as much as possible to avoid issues related to theoretical confounds and overgeneralizations of the term *emotional intelligence* in order to provide a reasonable, cautious starting point for studying EI in the context of policing. In the present study, the three factors believed to be related to EI consisted of emotional self-awareness, an open, calm, empathetic demeanor, and knowledge about other people’s emotions. These were measured as three separate, but correlated factors and, through latent factor modelling, were confirmed while accounting for potential measurement error. This approach allowed the analysis to reasonably discern between the relationships of one EI factor with its correlates and the other EI factors with the same correlates. The results imply (and confirm the assertions of other scholars) that this should be the way EI is measured since one factor may be significantly related to a variable while another is not, or one factor may be positively related to a variable while another is inversely related. Additionally, though each dimension of EI is expected to be related, there is little evidence that the existence of more basic skills must *always* coincide with advanced skills. For instance, having high emotional self-awareness does not by itself mean that a person is highly skilled at managing the emotions they perceive (e.g. social anxiety). Until the various ways of measuring EI abilities have been more clearly correlated into reliable categories and sub-dimensions it is advisable that researchers measure emotional

intelligence via sets of clustered abilities that are conceptually linked to one or more of the dimensions of the four-factor model of EI.

6.2 Police Recruitment, Training, and Evaluation

To find police officers that will treat the public fairly, respectfully and compassionately, foster trust and legitimacy, and succeed at community policing tasks, recruitment efforts should first advertise the knowledge and abilities that are most compatible with these principles of policing so that they can attract appropriately motivated individuals to the job (Coutts, Schneider, & Tenuta, 2004). Second, police training academies should build a curriculum that focuses in on the knowledge and skills needed to accomplish these behavioral objectives. Finally, the performance of individual officers should be judged by metrics that indicate progress toward achieving these goals. Practically, this dissertation begins to answer questions that evidence-based, learning organizations might posit, such as: Which combination of knowledge and abilities should be advertised? Which combination should be the focus of training? What outcomes will best measure officer performance in the context of community policing? In truth, EI is just one aspect of an officer's life. However, it represents competency in abilities that could ultimately contribute to more emotionally appropriate, functional, and compassionate social interactions. In the work of police officers this is critical to the mission of community policing.

This study specifically examined a few of the characteristics that were hypothesized to indicate officers high in EI, tested whether EI contributed to officer attitudes that would be in line with community policing and procedural justice ideals and finally, examined whether EI played a role in how officers were actually viewed by peers and community members they interacted with. The results generally show that within a complex police environment, EI is related to attitudes, but that other types of officer characteristics, contextual variables and

interaction situations might tell us more about how an officer performs emotional labor. Thus, the quality of certain types of interactions, such as those involving close, trusted officer friends or victims of more serious, sensitive crimes than those sampled here (e.g. sexual assault), could be more closely linked to an officer's ability to deal with emotions than those measured here because of their deeper emotional content. Also, EI may become more apparent to the other party of an interaction (e.g. peers and community members) and have a larger impact on these individuals when the relationship is not defined by a single encounter or a few interactions but rather is based on a more sustained relationship, where the parties can get to know each other. Pre-existing attitudes about the police might influence the extent to which officer EI can impact perceptions in interactions as well.

Mainly, the implication of this study is that there is more work to do in order to fully understand emotional intelligence and its role in policing. For example, the general status of emotionality in policing should be addressed by organizational leaders and researchers alike. While scholars mostly recognize that masculinity and rationality dominate policing (Drodge & Murphy, 2002; Howard et al., 2000, p. 307; Martin, 1999), there is still a need for a more complete (and modern) understanding about the way emotions are approached and/or avoided in police organizations and in daily police work. Part of developing this understanding will probably require an extension of existing research on police socialization and culture (e.g. Paoline, 2004). However, another part requires police leaders to take a closer look at training in crisis intervention, verbal judo techniques, procedural justice, de-escalation, and community policing to uncover the hidden influence of emotional labor.

Currently, an officer's immediate goals for a police interaction are likely to be centered on citizen compliance or officer safety. While these goals might seem particularly important in

the short term, longer term goals of a healthy relationship with the community and police legitimacy should frame the encounter. This all starts with the organizational and social environment that exists for police throughout their training and at “the station.” Thus, in order to ensure that officers perform the emotional labor required to build trust in the community, traditionally emphasized police values like command presence (control), deference to authority and officer safety need to be more formally and culturally interwoven with procedurally just behaviors and service-oriented values (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). Along the same lines, policing scholars and police leaders should consider in more detail how emotional labor facilitates the wide range of objectives in policing, what determines competency in emotional labor, and how expectations about emotional labor are communicated to police officers.

7. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDY

7.1 Limitations

The limitations of this study should be acknowledged for the benefit of interpreting the results and the planning of future studies. This research is based on the use of secondary data, so not all aspects of EI were possible to measure as they are conceived in the literature. The factor structure identified did allow for a test of several key components of EI as applied in the policing context though. Additionally, the EI factors measured were statistically reliable indicators of specific theorized aspects of emotional intelligence and were significantly related to each other in a way that theory would predict. The self-report nature of the items used for the EI factors could still be considered a weakness though because past research suggests that it is usually difficult for people to assess their own skill in an area via self-report (Mayer, Caruso, & Salovey, 2016). Relatedly, the level of variance in responses between officers was only moderate, which could have played a role in the inability to detect some of the hypothesized relationships. Another limitation is the number of officers and community members included in the test of the final hypothesis. The number of officers with ratings from community members was 211. However, not all of these officers had multiple ratings and for those that did, the time between interactions was not controlled. This, in combination with missing data on items making up the latent factors, meant the ability to conduct a multi-level SEM was unreasonable considering the complexity of latent factor modeling, FIML, and software/computing power limitations. A single-level SEM with FIML and clustered robust standard errors was the best available method for analysis of the latent factors measured and it still adjusted standard errors to account for the clustering of the data. Lastly, the data for the test of hypothesis 2D were from a single large metropolitan police force and only included ratings from citizen who interacted with officers due

to traffic/foot stops or reporting a crime, thus the findings regarding hypothesis 2D may not be generalizable to other cities, especially smaller jurisdictions, where the police culture and training may be different and where the characteristics of the communities they serve may vary.

7.2 Future Study

Future studies should give special consideration to the method of measuring emotional intelligence factors and understand that each method comes with its own implications. The predominant options are self-report versus ability-test measure (reporting on one's ability versus performance on a pencil/paper or multimedia test of emotional skills), and "mixed or trait EI" factors versus "ability EI" factors (where mixed and trait EI includes broader topics in the definition of EI and ability EI is limited to measuring specific skills mentioned in the original four dimensions). With self-report methods one must especially consider the context within which respondents are rating themselves and items must be worded in a way to minimize social desirability biases as much as possible. With ability-based measures, there can be a substantial increase in the length of the instrument and the effort required from respondents and thus recruiting participants and collecting fully completed surveys (not to mention later outcome data) is more time consuming and costly. These types of issues could be doubly problematic if police departments and officers are already hesitant to offer up access, time and effort to researchers. As for choosing between mixed EI or ability EI conceptualizations, ability EI is the more theoretically defensible choice and is generally recommended since it sticks closely to the original theory.

By their own recent admission, Mayer and colleagues (Mayer et al., 2016) suggest that the original four-branch model of EI may not factor out mathematically in exactly the way that theory predicts. In other words there is a possibility that a mental ability related to EI might fall

outside or somewhere between the four theoretical dimensions of emotional problem solving that make up EI. Even in their own ability-based measure (MSCEIT, Mayer et al., 2003), a *three* factor structure is often found in analyses (Mayer et al., 2016). Future EI research in policing could choose to stick closely to the four-branch model of EI, utilize the MSCEIT, and be reasonably sure there will be a healthy number of studies to contrast with their study. However, things are still developing in EI research and scholars are still working out the place for EI among its correlated cousins: personality and intelligence (Joseph & Newman, 2010). Thus, a future researcher of EI in policing could potentially explore more progressive models of EI that attempt to directly address its varied implementation. For example, a componential emotion approach suggests redefining the dimensions of EI so that ability-based tests are more representative of the actual processes involved in emotional problem solving (Fontaine, 2016). In any case, future studies would do well to include a measure of personality alongside their measure of EI to examine overlap and note whether EI has the additive effect on the outcome that is expected. Ideally, at least two different types of measures of EI would be used as well in order to compare and contrast.

Regarding the choice of predictors and outcomes in policing, future police researchers examining EI must first identify where abilities in emotion perception, understanding, and management are most likely to impact the work of police officers given the unique context policing provides. Granted, these situations may not be easy to access and are probably sensitive for almost everyone involved. For instance, emotion talk between trusted officer friends, interrogations, crisis negotiation situations, and encounters with victims of violence are likely arenas in which to witness the greatest utility of EI. For now though, the information from this study seems to indicate that future quantitative policing studies on EI should choose one of two

paths: 1) temper expectations about the impact of EI, seek the nearest opportunity to recruit officers for participation in a robust measure of self-report ability EI, and then assess its impact on their life satisfaction, coping, cynicism, attitudes toward the public/job, or work productivity (i.e. tickets, complaints, etc.), or 2) implement a robust recruitment plan to get police departments and officers to participate in a more involved, objective, ability-based measure of EI and then measure its impact on performance in objectively observed and more controlled interactions, or at least collect survey data from a larger number of consistently measured community interactions of all types (including sensitive ones).

Non-significant results are only truly insignificant if they are ignored in the pursuit of future knowledge and the formulations of future studies. Thus, my hope is that what was learned during the course of this project will be carried forward into the future to inform and educate researchers and practitioners in policing. Currently, the need for a deeper, integrated understanding of police organizations, police social cultures, individual officers and police-community relationships is substantial. The situation calls for a well-informed and multi-faceted collaborative approach that can tackle each facet of policing with the same goal in mind – better relationships. Despite some of the usual methodological barriers, there should remain hope that bringing together ideas in community policing, procedural justice, emotional intelligence, and emotional labor will spark forward-thinking research that can address some of the biggest issues facing the police and the communities they serve.

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APPENDIX

TABLE IV

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND FACTOR LOADINGS FROM EI CFA								
Latent Factor	Observed Item	Mean	S.D.	β^*	SE	Sig.	95% C.I. (lower)	95% C.I. (upper)
ESA	a1	3.83	0.65	-	-		-	-
ESA	a2	3.33	0.80	0.56	0.04	< .001	0.477	0.641
ESA	a3	3.90	0.64	0.78	0.03	< .001	0.716	0.842
ESA	a4	3.27	0.88	0.52	0.04	< .001	0.436	0.608
EKO	k1	3.13	0.52	-	-		-	-
EKO	k2	3.13	0.49	0.75	0.04	< .001	0.665	0.829
EKO	k3	3.20	0.45	0.70	0.04	< .001	0.620	0.789
ED	r1	2.83	0.63	0.50	0.05	< .001	0.392	0.604
ED	r2	3.21	0.56	0.63	0.05	< .001	0.530	0.723
ED	r3	3.10	0.52	0.61	0.05	< .001	0.514	0.710
ED	r4	3.17	0.59	-	-		-	-
Covariance								
-	e.ESA/e.ED			0.16	0.07	.02	0.025	0.300
-	e.ESA/e.EKO			0.28	0.07	< .001	0.151	0.409
-	e.ED/e.EKO			0.71	0.06	< .001	0.602	0.825
ESA	e.a1/e.a4			0.33	0.05	< .001	0.225	0.428

* Constrained coefficients not reported.

TABLE VI

CORRELATIONS OF NON-BINARY VARIABLES IN MODEL A1.3

Variable	a1	a2	a3	a4	k1	k2	k3	c1	c2	c3	c4	r1	r2	r3	r4	Age
a1	1.00															
a2	0.50	1.00														
a3	0.68	0.40	1.00													
a4	0.50	0.59	0.33	1.00												
k1	0.18	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00											
k2	0.22	0.17	0.31	0.12	0.45	1.00										
k3	0.19	0.12	0.26	0.16	0.46	0.55	1.00									
c1	0.05	-0.12	0.02	-0.04	0.04	0.08	0.07	1.00								
c2	0.11	0.07	0.17	0.08	0.28	0.41	0.38	0.26	1.00							
c3	0.11	-0.04	0.10	-0.03	0.09	0.16	0.14	0.56	0.23	1.00						
c4	0.13	-0.05	0.08	-0.01	0.10	0.14	0.14	0.32	0.31	0.23	1.00					
r1	0.21	0.14	0.23	0.11	0.20	0.29	0.19	0.06	0.26	0.16	0.10	1.00				
r2	0.14	0.06	0.20	0.03	0.28	0.31	0.27	0.13	0.37	0.15	0.17	0.36	1.00			
r3	0.05	0.04	0.14	0.00	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.10	0.22	0.16	0.11	0.38	0.39	1.00		
r4	0.11	0.06	0.18	0.09	0.21	0.32	0.29	0.09	0.28	0.14	0.13	0.35	0.48	0.42	1.00	
Age	0.02	-0.01	0.00	-0.04	-0.01	-0.02	-0.06	0.10	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.04	-0.02	0.04	1.00
S.D.	0.72	0.83	0.69	0.87	0.49	0.47	0.44	0.70	0.61	0.72	0.67	0.57	0.61	0.58	0.65	5.40
Mean	3.68	3.29	3.77	3.21	3.14	3.08	3.16	2.95	3.05	3.16	3.02	2.85	3.06	2.95	3.02	28

TABLE X**CORRELATIONS OF NON-BINARY VARIABLES IN MODEL B1.2**

Variable	a1	a2	a3	a4	k1	k2	k3	r1	r2	r3	r4	f1
a1	1.00											
a2	0.47	1.00										
a3	0.63	0.36	1.00									
a4	0.49	0.53	0.33	1.00								
k1	0.12	0.14	0.23	0.24	1.00							
k2	0.22	0.14	0.19	0.15	0.47	1.00						
k3	0.37	0.20	0.32	0.22	0.39	0.57	1.00					
r1	0.22	0.12	0.17	0.16	0.20	0.41	0.20	1.00				
r2	0.17	0.13	0.17	0.12	0.12	0.32	0.33	0.30	1.00			
r3	0.27	0.15	0.18	0.16	0.18	0.27	0.29	0.28	0.19	1.00		
r4	0.26	0.17	0.08	0.20	0.11	0.24	0.25	0.39	0.39	0.39	1.00	
f1	-0.08	-0.05	-0.10	-0.05	-0.10	0.15	0.08	0.23	0.07	0.33	0.28	1.00
f2	-0.06	-0.15	-0.09	-0.13	-0.08	0.17	-0.04	0.24	0.02	0.18	0.20	0.58
f3	0.04	-0.15	-0.17	0.03	-0.08	0.15	0.03	0.19	0.08	0.32	0.28	0.47
f4	-0.19	-0.17	-0.05	-0.12	-0.11	0.09	-0.05	0.15	0.04	0.07	0.14	0.43
s1	0.27	0.19	0.12	0.34	0.02	0.11	0.15	0.15	0.13	0.36	0.33	0.19
s2	0.16	0.13	0.01	0.23	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.24	0.23	0.19	0.30	-0.02
s3	0.31	0.18	0.18	0.27	0.14	0.19	0.24	0.27	0.22	0.27	0.29	0.02
peer	-0.06	-0.04	0.00	0.01	0.06	-0.08	-0.07	-0.03	0.02	-0.24	-0.09	-0.01
S.D.	0.72	0.83	0.69	0.87	0.49	0.47	0.44	0.57	0.61	0.58	0.65	1.00
Mean	3.68	3.29	3.77	3.21	3.14	3.08	3.16	2.85	3.06	2.95	3.02	2.76

CORRELATIONS OF NON-BINARY VARIABLES IN MODEL B1.2

Variable	f2	f3	f4	s1	s2	s3	peer
f2	1.00						
f3	0.51	1.00					
f4	0.45	0.33	1.00				
s1	0.09	0.19	0.09	1.00			
s2	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.56	1.00		
s3	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.60	0.63	1.00	
peer	0.00	-0.02	0.09	-0.04	0.10	0.00	1.00
S.D.	1.03	0.94	1.12	1.08	1.03	1.06	1.00
Mean	2.74	2.97	2.80	3.50	3.74	3.75	0.00

TABLE XIV

CORRELATIONS OF NON-BINARY VARIABLES IN MODEL B2

Variable	a1	a2	a3	a4	k1	k2	k3	r1	r2	r3	r4
a1	1.00										
a2	0.61	1.00									
a3	0.26	0.27	1.00								
a4	0.63	0.52	0.13	1.00							
k1	0.05	0.28	0.09	0.20	1.00						
k2	0.26	0.26	-0.20	0.45	0.07	1.00					
k3	0.47	0.48	-0.15	0.56	0.16	0.77	1.00				
r1	-0.01	0.00	0.05	0.01	-0.11	0.18	0.06	1.00			
r2	0.38	0.55	-0.07	0.19	0.08	0.25	0.35	0.27	1.00		
r3	0.35	0.51	-0.03	0.23	0.07	0.19	0.32	0.34	0.63	1.00	
r4	0.49	0.54	-0.13	0.36	0.10	0.34	0.52	0.38	0.72	0.64	1.00
t1	0.10	0.13	0.11	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01	0.03	0.19	0.02	0.05	-0.03
t2	0.19	0.18	0.07	0.18	0.06	0.26	0.30	0.20	0.15	0.10	0.18
t3	0.12	0.19	0.01	0.07	0.12	-0.08	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.12	0.09
m1	0.20	0.22	0.14	0.05	0.10	-0.17	-0.04	0.05	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02
m2	-0.01	0.02	0.08	-0.07	0.00	-0.23	-0.13	0.04	-0.07	-0.03	-0.07
m3	0.13	0.17	0.18	-0.04	0.05	-0.10	-0.02	0.17	0.03	0.02	-0.03
m4	0.19	0.22	0.16	0.00	0.06	-0.17	-0.07	0.15	0.04	0.03	-0.02
c_age	0.15	0.25	0.09	0.08	-0.04	0.01	0.11	-0.09	-0.06	0.17	0.06
S.D.	0.64	0.75	0.74	0.84	0.48	0.41	0.37	0.55	0.54	0.62	0.64
Mean	3.83	3.45	3.78	3.36	3.16	3.06	3.16	2.96	3.18	2.98	3.06

CORRELATIONS OF NON-BINARY VARIABLES IN MODEL B2

Variable	t1	t2	t3	m1	m2	m3	m4	c_age
t1	1.00							
t2	0.71	1.00						
t3	0.85	0.69	1.00					
m1	0.83	0.58	0.83	1.00				
m2	0.83	0.57	0.83	0.86	1.00			
m3	0.95	0.66	0.86	0.87	0.84	1.00		
m4	0.86	0.60	0.86	0.93	0.85	0.93	1.00	
c_age	0.29	0.04	0.32	0.48	0.37	0.34	0.40	1.00
S.D.	1.08	1.06	1.05	1.24	1.05	1.07	1.10	16.04
Mean	3.11	2.88	3.11	2.74	3.06	3.07	2.86	47.10

VITA

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Education

Ph.D. – Criminology, Law, and Justice

Dissertation: “To Protect and also Serve: Emotional Intelligence in Police Officers”

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M.A. – Criminology, Law, and Justice

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B.A. – Psychology; Minor – Criminal Justice

Department of Psychology

University of Nebraska – Lincoln, 2011

Areas of Specialization

- Survey Questionnaire Creation and Deployment
- Research Project Planning and Management
- Data Management and Analysis (SPSS, STATA, R and Microsoft Excel)
- Factor Analysis, Regression, Hierarchical Linear Modeling, Structural Equation Modeling
- Criminal Justice, Police, Social Psychology, Technology and Multimedia

Publications

Bueermann, J., Escamilla, J. H., & Hartnett, S. (2017). Looking ahead to platform 2.0: Participant feedback and institutionalization. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*.

Lawrence, D. S., Christoff, T. E., & Escamilla, J. H. (2017). Predicting procedural justice behavior: Examining communication and personality. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*.

Rosenbaum, D. P., Maskaly, J., Lawrence, D., Escamilla, J. H., Enciso, G., Christoff, T. E., & Posick, C. (2017). The police-community interaction survey. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*.

Bornstein, B. H., Gervais, S. J., Dietrich, H. L., & Escamilla, J. (2014). All else being equal: Overcoming the egalitarian norm. In B. H. Bornstein & R. L. Wiener (Eds.), *Justice, Conflict and Wellbeing* (pp. 3–30). Springer New York.

Conference Activity/Participation

- Poster Presentation - Escamilla, J.H., & Maskaly, J. (2015, November). The police, the young, and the restless: Age as a factor in attitudes toward police. American Society of Criminology Conference, Washington D.C.
- Oral Presentation - Enciso, G., Escamilla, J., Christoff, T.E (2014, November). Police encounters with young, latino adults. American Society of Criminology Conference, San Francisco, CA.
- Oral Presentation - Boehmer, R.P, Escamilla, J.H., Hartnett, S.M. (2013, November). Creating, disseminating, and applying research findings about police-citizen encounters: A case in translational police science and agency-university partnerships. American Society of Criminology Conference, Atlanta, GA.
- Panel Discussant - Escamilla, J. H., Powell, C., Rosenbaum, D.P. (2013, November). Understanding the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity during police-citizen encounter: An analysis of data from the police-community interaction survey. American Society of Criminology Conference, Atlanta, GA.
- Poster Presentation - Escamilla, J. H. & Gervais, S. J. (2010, August). Mortality salience, power, and associated attitudes and behaviors. Undergraduate Research Conference, Lincoln, NE.
- Oral Presentation - Escamilla, J. H. & Gervais, S. J. (2010, August). Mortality salience, power, and associated attitudes and behaviors. McNair Summer Research Conference, Berkeley, CA.
- Oral/Poster Presentation - Escamilla, J. H. & Gervais, S. J. (2010, July). Mortality salience, power, and associated attitudes and behaviors. McNair Research Conference, Lincoln, NE.
- Oral Presentation - Escamilla, J. H. & Gervais, S. J. (2010, April). Sexual harassment and self-monitoring. University of Nebraska – Lincoln “Brown Bag” psychology department meeting, Lincoln, NE.

Research Experience

Center for Research in Law and Justice – University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL:

- **Research Assistant, Body Worn Camera (BWC) Project, 08/2016 to present**
Currently reviewing and resolving any issues related to survey data using SPSS, analyzing data, creating reports for a law enforcement partner, and collaborating with a team to assign coding and survey administration tasks. Helped design survey administered at post-test.
- **Research Assistant, National Police Research Platform, 01/2016 to 08/2016**
Helped to create and administer a nationwide law enforcement survey funded and overseen by the Pew Research Center. Successfully met agency recruitment goals and managed the collection of survey data through Qualtrics.

- **Research Project Manager, National Police Research Platform, 05/2014 to 12/2015**
Managed a large scale community survey about police, funded by the U.S. Department of Justice. Used Qualtrics and Plum Survey web interfaces to create and update automated phone and internet surveys. Collaborated with police personnel, responded in a timely manner to analysis requests from the director, organized and managed data using SPSS syntax and Excel, and updated the research team on survey progress weekly.
- **Research Assistant, National Police Research Platform, 08/2012 to 05/2014**
Created a phone/web survey and collected data. Helped identify a sample for a statewide research study on police and communities. Supported law enforcement in the implementation of a detailed research protocol. Visited select sites to discuss individual agency reports of results in person.

Department of Psychology – University of Nebraska at Lincoln, Lincoln, NE:

- **Secondary Investigator, Mortality salience, power, attitudes, and behavior, 08/2009 to 05/2011**
Reviewed relevant literature and proposed new research questions. Made study design decisions. Determined the necessary measures and manipulations to produce. Administered the research study. Analyzed the data, wrote a research paper on findings, and presented the project at several conferences.
- **Researcher, Psychology (Dr. Brian Bornstein), 08/2010 to 05/2011**
Helped develop the research protocol for a study on perceived merit and distributive justice. Trained other research assistants in the protocol. Conducted the experiment, administered the treatment, and debriefed participants. Required memorizing a script and working with confederate researchers.
- **Research Observer, Psychology (Dr. Sarah Gervais), 08/2009 to 06/2010**
Conducted the main research protocol for a study on sexual harassment and work performance. Compiled research packets which were filled out by participants. Memorized verbal and non-verbal script and was responsible for setting up video and scenery for the study.
- **Research Observer, Psychology (Dr. Rich Wiener), 01/2009 to 05/2009**
Conducted the research protocol for a study on forecasting emotions and juror decision-making. Entered data from study packets into SPSS statistics software.

Teaching Experience

University of Illinois – Chicago

- **Teaching Assistant, Criminology (Dr. Amie Schuck)**
January 2014 to May 2014

- **Teaching Assistant, Criminology (Adjunct Professor David Williams)**
August 2012 to December 2012

Other Professional Work Experience

- **Office Clerk II, 06/2009 to 08/2009**
Nebraska Adult Probation Office
Supported the efforts of probation officers. Filed and sorted paperwork, entered data, and performed other office tasks.
- **Legislative Page/Intern, 01/2009 to 05/2009**
Nebraska State Capitol
Observed legislative process. Performed administrative tasks for senators and clerks in legislative committees. Assisted the presiding officer.

Honors and Awards

2011 to 2015 – Abraham Lincoln Fellowship
 2009 to 2010 – REU (Research Experience for Undergraduates) Program
 2009 to 2011 – McNair Scholars Program
 2010 to 2011 – UCARE (Undergraduate Creative Activities and Research Experiences) Program
 2007 to 2011 – R.H. “Rick” Davis Scholarship
 2007 to 2011 – Nebraska Achievement Scholar
 2007 to 2011 – EducationQuest Scholarship

Campus Service/Leadership Activities

CJS (Criminal Justice Society)

August 2012 to August 2013

Helped create a teach-in about criminal justice topics, recruited members, designed logo, maintained website, attended events and social functions.

MASA (Mexican American Student Association)

January 1, 2008 to May 1, 2009

Reached out to underrepresented youth in the community to involve them in the university, aided in fundraisers and attended group functions for activity planning.

Academic Associations, Affiliations, and Services

American Society of Criminology (ASC); Policing
 American Correctional Association (ACA)
 Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS)

Languages

English – Fluent
 Spanish – Intermediate reader, beginner in writing and speaking